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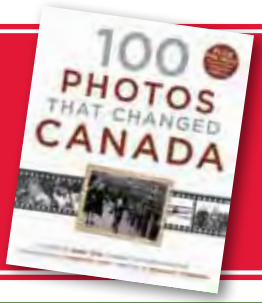

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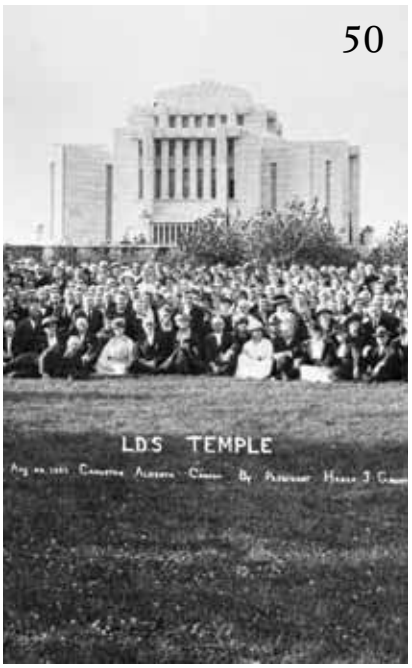

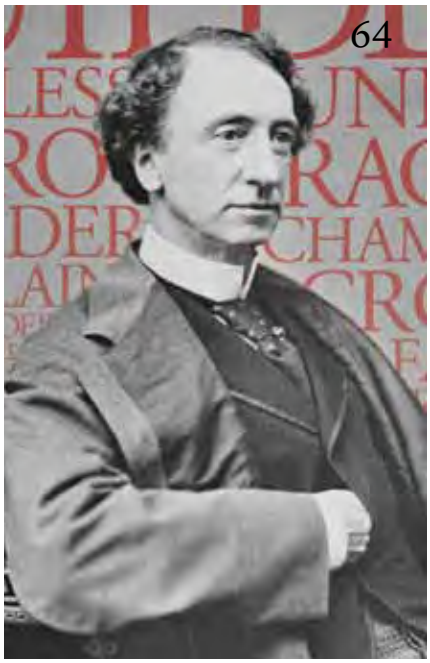

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Canada

True Norse

A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine! (From the fury of the Northmen, deliver us, Lord!)"

— prayer attributed to clergy during the Viking age

Towering figures in winged helmets, brandishing notched axes and gleaming broadswords. Dragon-prowed ships growing ever larger on the horizon. Church bells ringing in alarm. Horrified villagers fleeing before a host of bearded berserkers.

Sound familiar? It should, for this is the stereotypical image of Vikings that has been passed down through the centuries.

MARIANNE HELM

But it's important to remember that not every Viking went *a viking* and that the story of the Scandinavian peoples who we today lump together under this label is more complex than we think.

Consider the word, Viking. Dating back to the eighth century, it's exact meaning is unknown, but it has been used as a verb to mean going on an expedition — one that might involve pillaging but just as likely might involve friendly bartering.

And then there's the confusion over which ethnicities or nationalities qualified as Vikings. There were Vikings from Norway and Denmark, but what about the Germanic peoples of Holland or northern Germany? Or the Finns? Some Swedes were Vikings. But some Swedes went east and then south to explore, trade, and settle. These "northmen" were called "Rus" by the locals. Their settlements eventually became collectively known as Russia.

The Viking age dated from the late eighth to the early eleventh centuries. At that time, people on the British Isles saw Viking raiders as devils — cruel, capricious, and bloodthirsty. Some of these Norsemen stayed on as neighbours, settling in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

Canada's connection to the ancient Vikings comes through their voyages to Newfoundland and/or parts of the Maritime provinces, which Icelandic sagas called Vinland, as well as Baffin Island (Helluland) and Labrador (Markland). When these Vikings came to Canada from Iceland and Greenland around the year 1000, the climate was warmer than today's.

In 1960, the discovery of the remains of a Norse settlement at l'Anse aux Meadows, at the northern tip of Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula, caused historians to rethink the story of the "discovery" of North America.

Our cover story focuses on a group of Norse a few generations removed from the fierce warrior Vikings that terrorized Europe. "The Far Norse," by British writer David Keys, examines archaeological evidence that suggests Norse sailors engaged in a robust trade with the indigenous peoples of the Arctic region.

By the medieval period, these Norse sailors were no longer technically Vikings. Life for the Norse was changing rapidly. Many Norse were embracing Christianity and had traded in raiding for commerce.

Keys writes that these Norse Greenlanders may have sailed as far north as Baffin and Ellesmere islands in search of a commodity that was not only highly prized but considered magical by some Europeans.

This new research is certainly exciting for anyone with an interest in exploration history. And, while we don't know what the next big discovery in this field will be, we do know one thing for certain: Whether they're called Vikings, or Northmen, or Norse, or Rus, the ancient Scandinavian peoples who set forth in their longboats to fearlessly redraw the maps of the known world and will continue to capture our collective imagination.

Contributors

Mark Abley, who wrote "Reclaiming Kateri," is a non-fiction writer, poet, and editor based in Montreal. His book *Conversations with a Dead Man: The Legacy of Duncan Campbell Scott* was published by Douglas & McIntyre in the fall of 2013; it takes a creative non-fiction approach to a controversial figure from Canadian history. Abley's earlier books include *Spoken Here: Travels Among Threatened Languages* and *Beyond Forget: Rediscovering the Prairies.* He is originally from Saskatchewan.

Pierre Home-Douglas wrote "Raising Hell in Montreal," a story about the Confederate presence in Canada during the American Civil War. A freelance writer based in Montreal, Home-Douglas has written chapters in seven books, including *The Old West, Great Railway Journeys of the World*, and three volumes of the Reader's Digest travel series *Explore America*. He has also written magazine and newspaper articles on a variety of subjects, including travels with his family. This article was researched, written, and edited with the help of his eldest daughter, Allison.

Sharon Anne Cook is the author of "When Smoking Was Chic." She is a distinguished university professor and professor emerita with the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa and is the author or editor of nine books in education and history. Her latest book is *Sex, Lies and Cigarettes: Canadian Women, Smoking and Visual Culture, 1880–2008* (McGill-Queens University Press 2012), the first historical survey of smoking in Canada. Cook, a non-smoker, is interested in the historical allure of smoking for women. She dislikes weak school-based anti-smoking education.

David Keys, author of our cover story about evidence of medieval Norse in the High Arctic, is the archaeology correspondent for the British daily newspaper *The Independent*. A journalist, broadcaster, and writer based in the United Kingdom, he has specialized in archaeological and historical journalism for the past twenty-seven years. Keys is the author of *Catastrophe: An investigation into the Origins of the Modern World*. He has also has initiated and acted as consultant for thirty archaeological and historical TV documentaries.

Thompson triumphant

I found the article "Who is Canada's Greatest Explorer?" [December 2013-January 2014] very interesting and will pass it on to my grandchildren. Living in Windermere, British Columbia, we are very aware of the explorations of David Thompson. Having read his journals and biographies, I am truly amazed at the skill, strength, endurance, and compassion Thompson had. We featured Thompson last year during our annual Wings Over the Rockies events in the Columbia River Valley, where Thompson stayed for two years. After reading the exploits of the other explorers, it is hard to vote for just one, but Thompson has always been a hero to me.

Eloise Berry
Windermere, British Columbia

Editor's note: David Thompson came first in our online poll to choose Canada's greatest explorer. Samuel de Champlain was the runner-up. More than four hundred readers voted, and all were entered in a draw to win an exploration-themed prize package. Joy Balla of Langley, British Columbia, was the winner of the grand prize — a fine silver proof coin set from the Canadian Mint commemorating the centennial of the Canadian Arcitc Expedition. Five others won one-year subscriptions to Canada's History *magazine. Go to CanadasHistory.ca/The-Greatest-Explorer for more details.*

Plainly not Jane

The inclusion of Jane Franklin on the list of top explorers was a bit hard to swallow. While a remarkable and important person in Canada's history, no doubt, it seems a bit hard on the other explorers, who risked life and limb for years traversing vast treacherous wilderness, to be placed on par with a highly competent organizer and lobbyist. I appreciate that she was also a prolific world traveller, but a prolific world traveller is very different from a great Canadian explorer.

Joseph Jalsevac
Scarborough, Ontario

The greatest teacher

In the spirit of the question as to who is Canada's greatest explorer, may I add another name — Philip Turnor — because he played a significant role in instructing David Thompson and Alexander Mackenzie.

Turnor, the teacher of Thompson, met Mackenzie on June 23, 1790, at Cumberland House and remarked in his journal that Mackenzie "does not seem acquainted with Observations which makes me think he is not well convinced where he has been."

Turnor no doubt stressed upon Mackenzie the necessity of taking accurate observations, and that prompted Mackenzie to return to England to educate himself. In 1793, armed with his newly acquired skills and with Turnor's correct location of Lake Athabasca, Mackenzie successfully made his way to the Pacific coast.

Barbara Mitchell
Peterborough, Ontario

Tommy's the greatest

As a proud Canadian, I couldn't imagine not having health care ["Canada Without Medicare," February-March 2014]. Our health card is pure gold and I'm thankful for it. I couldn't imagine not wanting everyone to have access to our medical system even if it means my taxes increase. It may not always be perfect but we have one and for that I would like to thank Tommy Douglas for his fight.

Pierrette Carriere
North Bay, Ontario

Aboriginal warriors saved the day

In the February-March 2014 isssue of *Canada's History*, there is a historical vignette describing the Battle of Queenston Heights ["American Invasions"] that is inaccurate.

The battle was initially lost by the British, and British soldiers were in retreat. It was only with the arrival of First Nations forces, under First Nations command, that the Americans were defeated. It is important for all of us to be aware of these events, to understand why First Nations today hold a unique status in Canada. At this battle, and at other key points in Canada's history, the First Nations were there maintaining our sovereignty and builidng the country.

Malcolm McSporran
Vancouver

Sober second thought

At first, I thought letter writer Neil McEachern had an absolutely brilliant solution to Canada's Senate problem ["Ignore Senate and it will go away," December 2013-January 2014]. He suggested a solution "which would require only a handshake between the leaders of the political parties: Just stop appointing senators. After twenty or twenty-five years, the last senator will have resigned, retired, or died."

On second thought, however, there's a fatal flaw in such a plan. Presumably, when the Senate reaches just one or two members, the party in power could abandon the "gentleman's agreement" and fill all the vacancies with loyal party hacks. Which reminds me of another old saying: "If anything can go wrong, it will."

George Dunbar
Toronto

Canada's History welcomes your comments. Email us at editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada. Please include your address and phone number. Letters may be edited for clarity or length.

Sounds of war

Ontario band fills musical gap with War of 1812 themed album.

by Mark Reid

Quick quiz: Which War of 1812 jingle is among the most famous songs in the world? Here's a hint — you heard it during the 2014 Winter Olympics, each time the United States won gold. That's right, "The Star-Spangled Banner" — America's national anthem — was written to celebrate the 1814 American victory at Baltimore.

Now for a follow-up: Name one historic Canadian song commemorating the 1812 conflict. Stumped? So was Ontario folk musician Peter Boyer. That's why he and his bandmates in Same Latitude As Rome decided to write and record an album's worth of 1812-themed songs. The Essex County band has spent the past two years performing the album at festivals across Ontario. Canada's History recently caught up with Boyer to discuss the project.

***Canada's History:** What was the inspiration for the 1812 CD?*

Peter Boyer: The Americans are really great at telling their stories. We really try to be a Canadian band and honour the Canadian narrative as much as we can. When [the bicentennial of] 1812 was coming up, I went to the traditional catalogue to find some songs to perform, and there were virtually none. Stan Rogers had written a couple. Other than that, there was nothing to draw on.

While there are British military tunes from that era, few are sung from a Canadian perspective, and very little sheet music exists. Why do you think that is?

Peter Boyer: I have puzzled about that myself. There was one, "Come all ye brave Canadians …" [*the song is "The Bold Canadian," composed in 1812*] — you might be familiar with that one. I think it was the only one that emerged from the time.

In Ontario, especially, there was so much privation and suffering that most people wanted to put it behind them and move on. Some of the roots of anti-Americanism came from that time. The population didn't want to tell the story any more — they knew it too well. They just moved on, and it was forgotten.

I suppose, back in Britain, people were still more fixated on the Napoleonic Wars, which had just ended.

Women historians heading to Toronto for 'Big Berks' event

The Berkshire Conference on the History of Women comes to Canada for the first time this spring, when it will be hosted by the University of Toronto.

The large women's history conference, also known as "Big Berks," began in 1973 as an offshoot of the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians (or "Little Berks"), which had been meeting since 1930 in the Berkshire Mountains of New England. The smaller group formed after women felt marginalized and isolated at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association.

The theme for the 2014 conference is Histories on the Edge, and it has a distinct international focus. Hundreds of academics will attend the four-day event from May 22 to 25.

Conference host and U of T history professor Franca Iacovetta is excited about the opportunity for Canadians to meet with leading women's history scholars from around the world. "I hope people go to the preliminary program and actually just type in your favourite historian and see if she shows up, because chances are she will be there," Iacovetta said.

Franca Iacovetta

The 2014 organizing committee is bringing a Canadian perspective to women's history. "It was an opportunity for Canadians to shape this Berks in a way they have never done before," Iacovetta explained, "and for us to choose themes that reflected what we were really interested in and what we thought really resonated with Canadians."

A plenary session, entitled "(Indigenous) Women Make the World Go Round: Gender, History, and the Indigenous World," will feature scholars from Manitoba, Saskatchewan, the United States, and New Zealand.

An elementary and high school teaching component will explore new approaches to teaching women's history, including a project from Bishop Strachan School in Toronto that looks at the history of nurses during wartime.

Visit CanadasHistory.ca/Berks to hear an interview with Iacovetta and to learn more about this year's conference. — **Joel Ralph**

PHOTO COURTESY PETER BOYER

Lead singer Peter Boyer and his Same Latitude as Rome bandmates perform in Fergus-Elora, Ontario, summer 2013.

Peter Boyer: For British folksingers and storytellers, [the War of 1812] was the forgotten war. The Napoleonic Wars are much more in their minds.

For several of the songs, you collaborated lyrically with Windsor historian Dan Loncke. Is it true that you met during one of your performances?

Peter Boyer: He said, you know, those are great songs. I have a bunch of 1812 poems I have been working on — maybe we could collaborate?

And you know what? It turned out to be a great collaboration. The inspiration grew from that. We decided at the end we would have a whole 1812 CD and put it out for the bicentennial. At the larger shows, Dan came out and did a narrative in between the songs. We also showed all kinds of archival photos and maps. It told the whole story [of the war]. The show was called *1812 in Story and Song.*

The CD's eleven songs highlight many key moments in the war. What's your favourite track on the album?

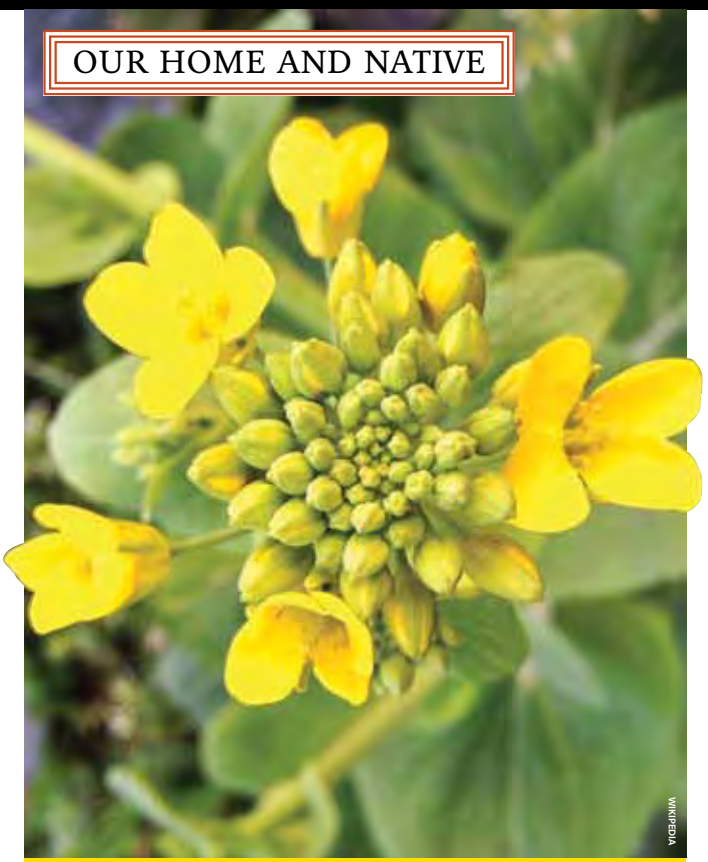
Peter Boyer: I think my personal favourite is "Tecumseh." I think Tecumseh is one of the great unheralded Canadian heroes.

One thing that really emerged for me [during the bicentennial] was the consensus that the big losers were First Nations and that Tecumseh's vision was lost … in the Treaty of Ghent negotiations. *[One reason why Tecumseh, an Aboriginal leader, supported Britain was a promise that Aboriginals would receive an independent homeland near the Great Lakes after the war.]* The British pretty quickly abandoned the Natives' claim.

I think Tecumseh's story needs to be told. I gave it my best shot. I think it's a great song, and it's certainly my favourite. I tried to really honour Tecumseh and the First Nations of 1812.

To download a **free MP3** copy of the song **"Brock at Detroit,"** from the CD *1812*, go to: **CanadasHistory.ca/BrockSong**

OUR HOME AND NATIVE



WIKIPEDIA

Canola

Before rapeseed was modified to produce one of the healthiest vegetable oils, its oil was used to fuel lamps and as a lubricant that was in demand during the Second World War.

After the war, industrial demand for rapeseed oil dropped, and in the 1950s it was produced as a food product. But it was green from chlorophyll, bitter from glucosinolates, and high in erucic acid, which has been linked to health concerns. The taste was so bitter that even animals wouldn't eat feed meal from rapeseed.

Plant breeder Baldur Stefansson of the University of Manitoba, with colleague Keith Downey of Agriculture Canada, set about removing these non-nutritional components and eventually created a new plant variety. It was dubbed canola, a combination of the word Canada and the Latin *ola* (oil).

The first canola variety — Tower, which was low in both glucosinolates and erucic acid — was released in 1974. The Western Canadian Oilseed Crushers Association, forerunner to today's Canadian Oilseed Processors Association, trademarked the term canola to differentiate it from rapeseed, and by 1979 Japanese canola seed imports reached over one million tonnes.

Canola is now among the world's largest oilseed crops and contributes $19.3 billion annually to the Canadian economy.

— Danelle Cloutier

HIDDEN HERITAGE

Holy Blossom Synagogue

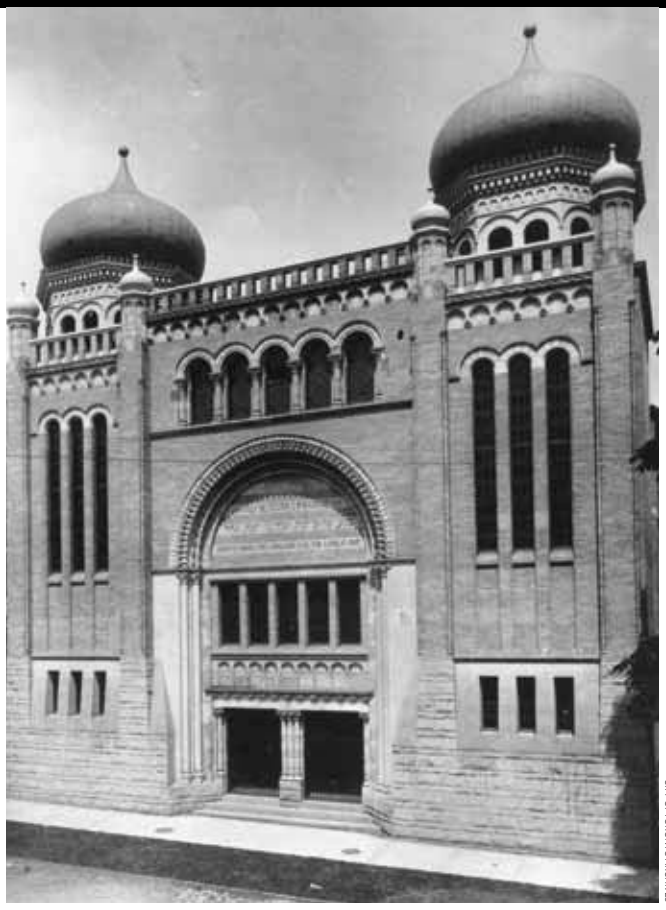
Toronto, 1897, John Siddall

Built for Toronto's oldest Jewish congregation, Holy Blossom Synagogue is an important piece of the city's architectural landscape. It was dedicated in 1897 as the second, larger temple for Holy Blossom, then the city's most prosperous synagogue, after its designer faced several challenges that ran parallel with the evolving Jewish culture.

Many Jewish communities in nineteenth-century Europe sought a new identity as a result of increasing freedoms and a new relationship with governments. At Holy Blossom, begun by Jews of German and English descent, the atmosphere was somewhere between Orthodox and Reform Judaism. Synagogue architecture was further complicated by then-current architectural trends such as neoclassicism, often used for state buildings, and neo-Gothic architecture, which was said to be "Christian." All of this gave architect John Siddall a perplexing design task.

The Holy Blossom committee sent Siddall to New York to observe some of that city's large synagogues. The resulting design was a combination of Rundbogenstil, a German-historical architectural style that emphasized the use of round arches, and "Moorish" style, a romantic revival that evoked Islamic architecture. The synagogue features twin towers with domes, a large arch, and a centralized octagonal plan.

After the 1930s, Toronto's Jewish community began to move away from the city's core, which led to the sale of the synagogue.



CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES

Though the building became a Greek Orthodox church in 1936, it retains many of the traditional aspects of mid-nineteenth-century synagogue architecture with German stylistic roots.

Adapted by Stephanie Mah from an article written by Sharon Graham for the Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada. *See canada-architecture.org.*

OBJECT OF INTEREST

This is the fog bell from the *Empress of Ireland*, which sank one hundred years ago on May 29, 1914, after a collision in the St. Lawrence River. More than one thousand of the 1,477 passengers and crew perished, making it Canada's largest maritime disaster. The bell is among nearly five hundred items recovered by diver Phillipe Beaudry, which were acquired in 2012 by the Canadian Museum of History (formerly the Canadian Museum of Civilization).

This artifact is from the national collection of the Canadian Museum of History.

IMG2012-0281-0002-DM, FRANK WIMART/ CMH 2012.421 © CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY

TAKE THE DAY OFF

April 23

To celebrate Guelph, Ontario's founding on this day in 1827 and its incorporation as a city on the same date in 1879. Read a John Galt novel.

April 30

To note the 1830 adoption in Prince Edward Island of the Catholic Emancipation Act, which gave the vote to Catholics. Make your mark.

KONRAD JOHANNESSON/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/PA-111330

PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

Winnipeg Falcons hockey team Aboard the RMS *Grampian* Konrad Johannesson fonds

This photograph was taken on the RMS *Grampian* during its April 3–12, 1920, Atlantic crossing from Saint John, New Brunswick, to Liverpool, England. Aboard the ship were the members of the Winnipeg Falcons hockey team, who were heading to Antwerp, Belgium, for the 1920 Summer Olympics (officially known as the Games of the VII Olympiad).

This was the first Games to feature ice hockey, and the Falcons would go on to win Canada's first gold medal in the sport during the April 23–29 tournament. The photograph, which shows a ship's officer and an unidentified woman with team members, was taken by Konrad Johannesson, who played right defence for the Falcons.

Johannesson joined the Falcons in 1919, shortly after returning to Winnipeg from his war duties abroad. After enlisting in 1916 and going overseas in April 1917, he became a Royal Flying Corps instructor at the RFC airfield at El Khanka, Egypt.

In 1920, shortly after winning the Allan Cup, the Falcons were chosen to represent Canada at the Olympics. Johannesson, an amateur photographer, took his camera along to document this historic first.

Selected by Library and Archives Canada photo archivist Shannon Perry.

May 13

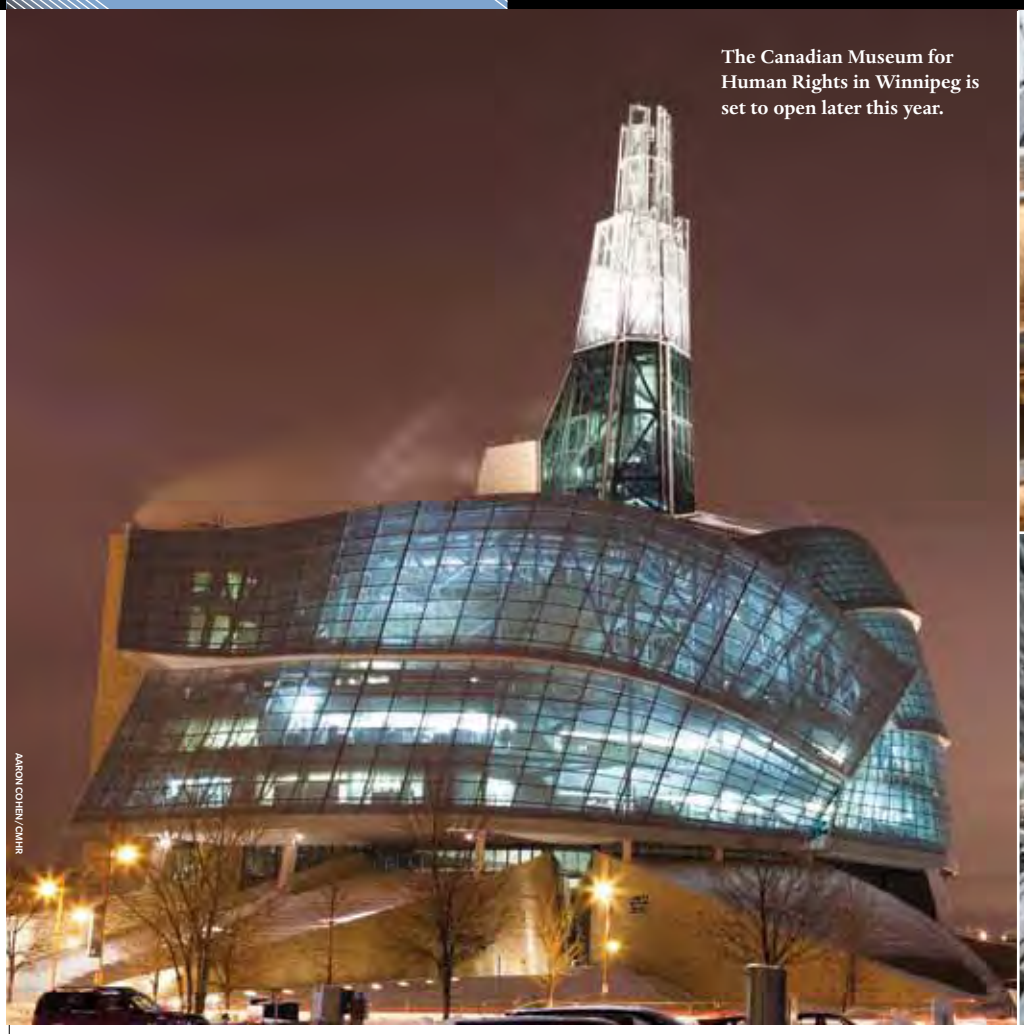
To observe the day in 1604 when Pierre Du Gua, Sieur de Monts named Port-au-Mouton in present-day Nova Scotia after a sheep jumped overboard. Bleat for joy.

May 27

To mark the opening of the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology in Edmonton on this day in 1963. Root for the Ooks.

May 31

To recall the day in 1786 when John Molson took over the Thomas Loid brewery in Montreal. Raise a glass.



AARON COHEN/CMHR

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights in Winnipeg is set to open later this year.

ANDREW WORKMAN

ANDREW WORKMAN

Beacon of hope

With construction of the new Canadian Museum for Human Rights nearly completed, its builders held a special event this winter to show off their work on the remarkable structure.

The Winnipeg-based institution is the first national museum to be built outside of the National Capital Region and is scheduled to open in September. As installation of the exhibits got underway, PCL Construction and Smith Carter Architects and Engineers hosted a tour of the Antoine Predock-designed building.

Situated in the heart of the city near the historic forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, the glass and limestone-clad structure is capped by a "Tower of Hope" standing thirty storeys tall. Inside, visitors will rise through the building as they are taken on a journey "from darkness to light" through more than four thousand square metres of exhibition space and across nearly a kilometre of bridges.

The criss-crossing alabaster-covered bridges are one of the building's most striking features and glow from internal lighting. Meanwhile, massive curved windows, symbolizing the wings of a dove, cover the south and west sides of the building and provide spectacular views while allowing natural light to flood interior spaces.

Inside the glass "Cloud" one gets a sense of the enormous and complicated steel infrastructure, itself weighing 5,400 tonnes.

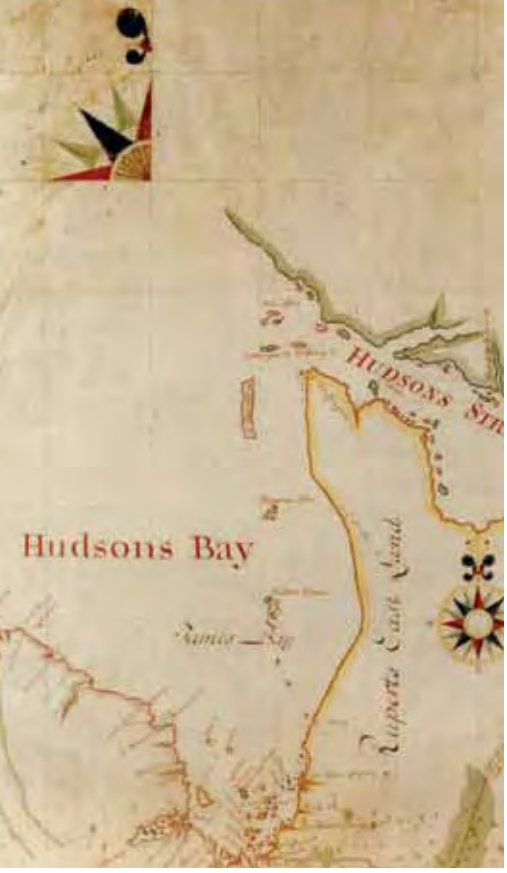
The building's unusual and complex shape required the use of 3-D models and "virtual design and construction" techniques that were a first for a Canadian project of its size. "As builders we may never get to work on something this complicated or cool ever again," said PCL vice-president and district manager Sean Barnes.

The museum has also announced that acclaimed Canadian contemporary artist Rebecca Belmore will create an original work for permanent display in the museum's Indigenous Perspectives gallery. The piece is inspired in part by artifacts uncovered during an archaeological excavation of the museum's site in advance of construction.

Watch for more about the museum in *Canada's History* magazine later this year.

— **Phil Koch**

Visit **CanadasHistory.ca** for the latest Canadian history news.



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The Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau, Quebec.

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY

Telling the story of Canada

The Canadian History Hall is taking shape. by Jean-Marc Blais

Canada is a nation unlike any other. It is an inclusive, progressive, tolerant, and multicultural nation guided by principles of fairness and equality. As a society, we take pride in our achievements and learn from our mistakes. Our two official languages are a defining characteristic of our identity, and as Canadians we proudly celebrate our diversity and the richness of our culture. We easily look beyond our own borders and understand our place in the world community of nations. We hold a deep respect for the rule of law and the principles of freedom and democracy.

This uniqueness of the Canadian experience is embodied in the content plan for the new Canadian History Hall, the centrepiece of the Canadian Museum of Civilization's $25-million transformation into the Canadian Museum of History.

The Canadian History Hall will be the largest and most ambitious project the museum has undertaken since its opening in 1989. At over four thousand square metres, it will occupy half of the museum's permanent exhibition space. The new hall will convey to all Canadians — and to the world — the story of Canada, from the end of the last ice age to the present day. It will open on July 1, 2017, the 150th anniversary of Confederation.

The museum team of staff historians, archaeologists, cultural specialists, and museology experts has compiled a massive content document proposing and describing topics for the new hall. As well, to ensure scholarly integrity and the independence of the project, the museum has established six advisory committees to work alongside the in-house team. These committees have been assembled to reflect a wide perspective on Canadian history and include historians, Aboriginal leaders, archaeologists, and cultural specialists. One committee is offering advice on the overall content and structure of the exhibition; three other committees are dealing with particular time periods; another is focusing on Aboriginal history; and another is focusing on women's history.

In January, the museum team met with these committees to get their feedback on the content proposed for the hall. Their advice, along with further research from the in-house team, is now being used to refine the content into a draft exhibition storyline. Over the course of 2014, the museum will move into the development, design, and production phase of the exhibition.

The Canadian History Hall will present a narrative national history, exploring from multiple perspectives the events and personalities that have shaped our country.

The hall's basic unit of development will be the story, from the arrival of the first human beings in what is now Canada at the end of the last ice age to contemporary historic events. Stories will include Quebec's Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, the impact of television on postwar Canada, Aboriginal treaty making, and how women got the vote. They will also include Canada's role in the world, the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, modern Asian and African immigration, and the struggles and compromises that led to Confederation.

Canadians have created one of the most prosperous and democratic nations on Earth. But as with every nation, Canada has had incidents of prejudice and injustice. Either alone or as part of larger stories, the Canadian History Hall will address topics such as the extinction of the Beothuk, the establishment of Indian residential schools, and the forced relocation of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War. These stories will be told from the perspectives of different communities, helping visitors understand the contexts in which they occurred.

The Canadian History Hall will bring our past to life, helping Canadians understand and appreciate the events, experiences, people, and artifacts that reflect and have shaped Canada's history and identity.

The exhibition is being developed in six zones:

- Zone 1, "The Land and its First Peoples, 11,500 BC–AD 1497," explores the diverse cultures and societies developed over thousands of years by Canada's First Peoples.
- Zone 2, "Early Colonial Canada, 1497–1755," starts with explorer John Cabot

landing in what is now Newfoundland in 1497 and traces the arrival of European settlers, their impact on First Peoples, and the new colonial societies they created.

- Zone 3, "British North America, 1755–1840," covers the British conquest of Canada and its consequences for First Peoples, Canadiens, and the new British and Anglo-American settlers.
- Zone 4, "Confederation and Consolidation, 1840–1885," follows the struggles and negotiations that led to self-government, Confederation, and, ultimately, the forging of a transcontinental railway linking the new Dominion of Canada from sea to sea.
- Zone 5, "The Roots of Modern Canada, 1885–1945," illustrates how through war, economic transformation, social change, and political crisis, Canada evolved from a self-governing British colony into a modern, industrialized country.
- Zone 6, "Deciding Who We Are, 1945–2017," explores a period in which Canadians strive to recognize, define, and question who they are in an increasingly diverse society.

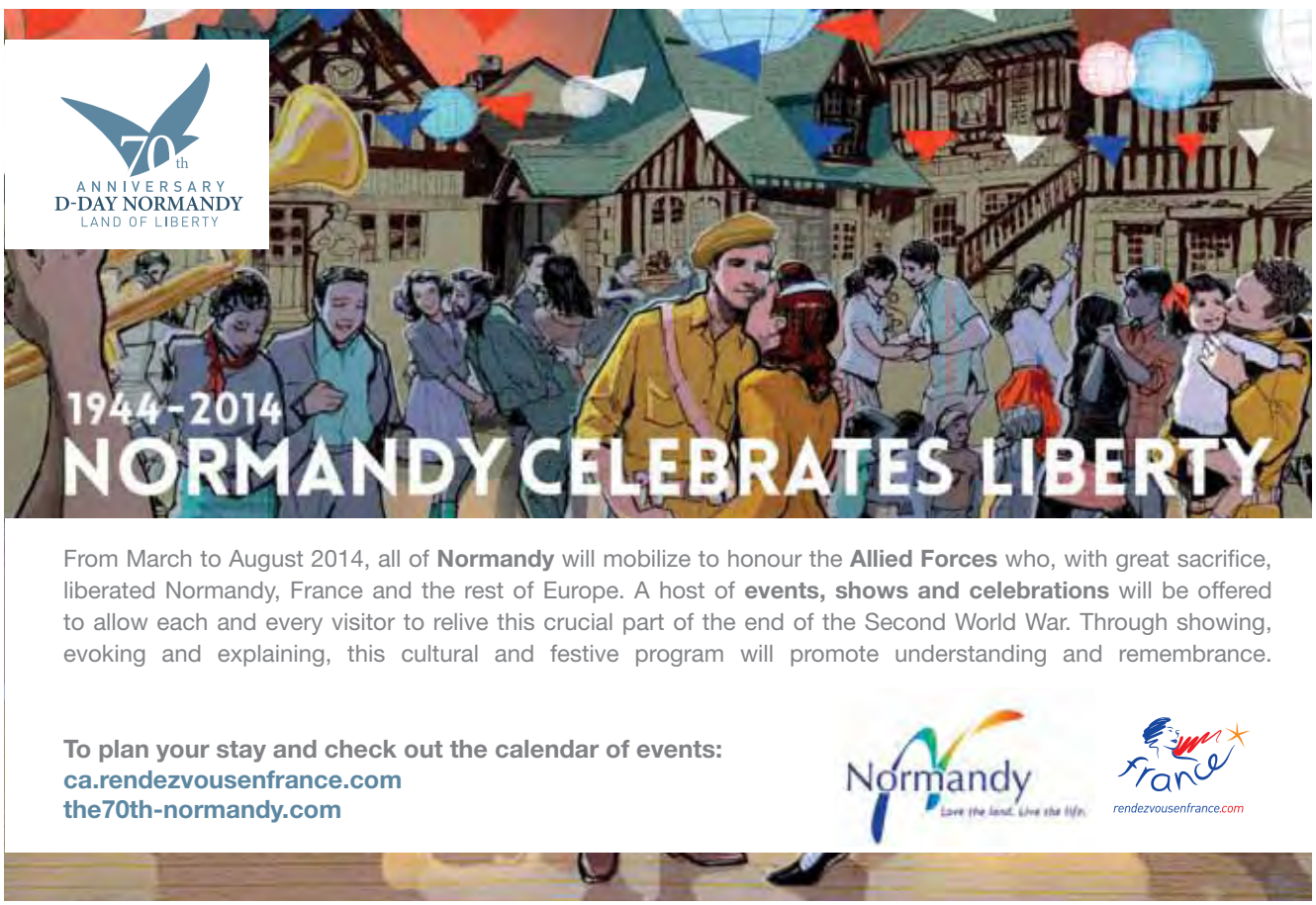
The Canadian History Hall will bring visitors into direct contact with many touchstones of Canada's history: an astrolabe from the early 1600s, possibly used by Samuel de Champlain; the Last Spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway; ten-thousand-year-old stone spear points; a small Inuit carving of a Norseman (Viking) made hundreds of years before the arrival of Columbus or Cabot; the handgun allegedly used to assassinate Father of Confederation Thomas D'Arcy McGee; and a hockey jersey worn by the legendary Maurice Richard.

To tell certain stories, the museum will be working with other institutions, including Library and Archives Canada, Parks Canada and a network of museums across the country to add artifacts to the exhibition. We are also actively purchasing artifacts using the donor-funded National Collections Fund.

For the museum team, the biggest challenge is determining which stories, events, and personalities best tell the history of Canada. The Canadian History Hall must represent the enormous diversity of the Canadian experience; it must balance Canada's regions, reflect fairly the history of women and men, fully integrate the experience of First Peoples into the museum's larger narrative of Canadian history, and balance the history of anglophone and francophone Canadians with other ethnic and cultural groups.

The museum team and its many advisors and partners are creating a dynamic, engaging Canadian History Hall worthy of Canadians' support and deserving of their pride. And they are tackling this vast project with a deep sense of responsibility and enormous enthusiasm.

Jean-Marc Blais is the Director General of the Canadian Museum of History.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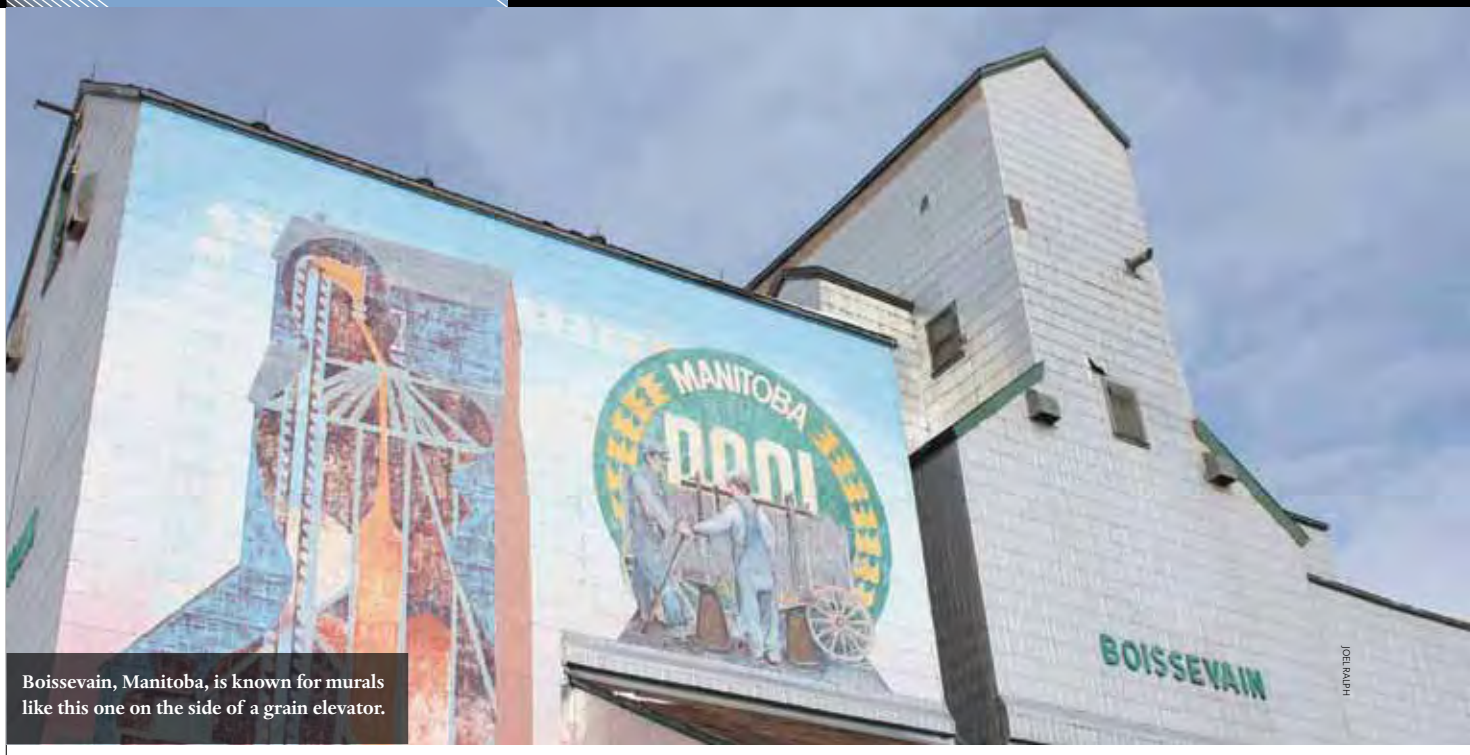


Boissevain, Manitoba, is known for murals like this one on the side of a grain elevator.

JOEL RALPH

Prairie landscapes

Joel Ralph and Jessie Klassen explore Manitoba's Turtle Mountain region.

We left Winnipeg early on a long February weekend and headed for the Turtle Mountain region of southwestern Manitoba. With our skis wedged along the passenger door, my wife, Jessie Klassen, our three-year-old son, Jack, and I were looking to get out of the city for a few days during the long prairie winter.

Jessie had booked two nights at Room to Grow, a straw bale home on the farming property of David Neufeld and Maggie Andres. Jessie spent a summer constructing a straw bale building in Haliburton, Ontario, (it's still there in the downtown) and she has been dreaming of building our own straw bale home or cabin ever since.

By the time we arrived at the cabin, Neufeld was there to greet us, and a fire was already warming the home from its winter slumber. As we settled in for our first night, one of the first things I noticed was a stack of beige brochures for the local Turtle Mountain–Souris Plains Heritage Association. Underneath were several copies of *Vantage Points*, a publication of local history accounts of the area, and a guide map of historical sites in the community — a promising sign for the history lover.

In the morning we set out to explore the farm grounds. It was a perfect day in February, cool with a bright warm sun and the slightest hint of spring, the first such offering of the year. We were immediately joined by Jupiter and Calvin, two beautiful farm dogs who, with our son Jack, led us on a hike around the farming property that had been worked for nearly a century.

After lunch we drove into Boissevain, the nearest regional centre. The farming community's history is depicted on murals throughout the downtown, including the story of Adolphus Boissevain, the Dutch banker who helped fund the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway and for whom the town is named.

From Boissevain we made the short drive south to the International Peace Garden. More than fifty thousand people attended the dedication of the gardens in 1932 to mark the long-standing peace and friendship between Canada and the United States.

While it was out of season for the spectacular flower gardens, we still stopped inside the recently constructed interpretive centre. We had just walked into a large arboretum full of cacti when we were greeted by the friendly cook from the cafeteria. We were probably his only visitors of the day, but he assured us that throughout the summer the site would buzz with activity, including on Mother's Day, which would see more than three hundred visitors for brunch.

Our last stop of the day was at Turtle Mountain Provincial Park, which was bustling with local families enjoying the warm winter day. Jack and I headed for the toboggan hill, while groups of old friends reunited to roast hot dogs and marshmallows.

That night, beside our own warm fire, I flipped through our copy of *Vantage Points*. The rich history of Turtle Mountain stretches back ten thousand years from the early First Nations hunting groups and Pierre de La Vérendrye — the first European to explore the area — all the way through to the fur trade and the development of agriculture on the prairies. I noticed on the last page that Neufeld, our host for the weekend, had written the afterword.

The next morning Neufeld came in to see us off, and I asked him about the local history society. He graciously sat down with us for a half hour to tell us more about the

history of the area and of the farm.

After working in South Africa under apartheid rule for eight years with the Mennonite Central Committee, Neufeld had returned to Canada with a new appreciation for the ability of history both to harm and to heal.

"When we came back in the early nineties, I needed to be involved in some way," he told us.

Together with local historian James Ritchie, he helped found the local history society that today hosts historical bus tours throughout the summer and creates geocaches comprised of historical postcards with photos and stories throughout the area, to be discovered by intrepid travellers.

"We were surprised at how open, in particular the retired generation, are to opening up the discussion. They just didn't know what was going on at all. We didn't teach our kids anything about First Nations history here," Neufeld said.

Jessie Klassen pulls a sled carrying young Jack as the dogs of Room to Grow farm near Boissevain, Manitoba, lead the way.

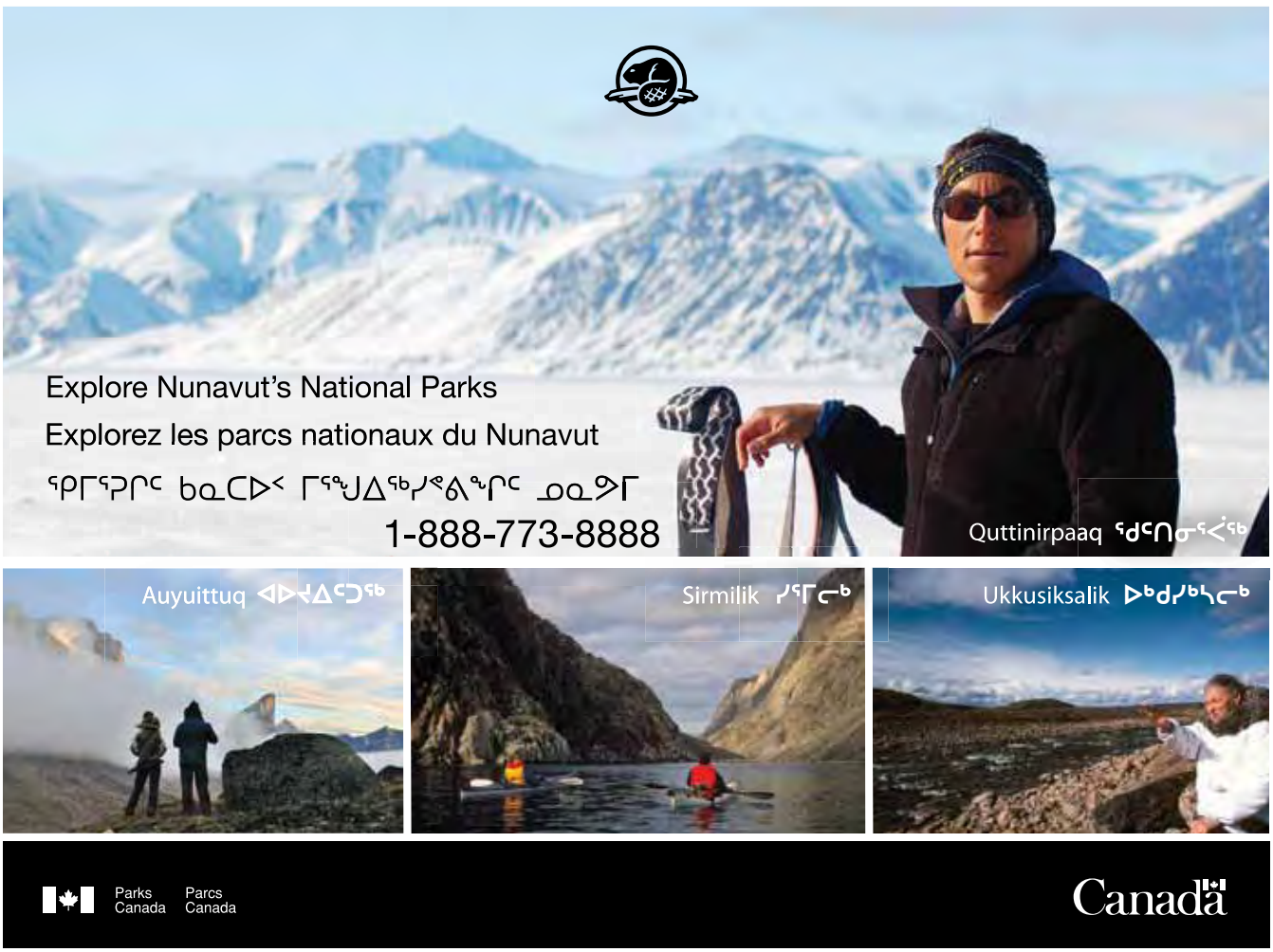
JOEL RALPH

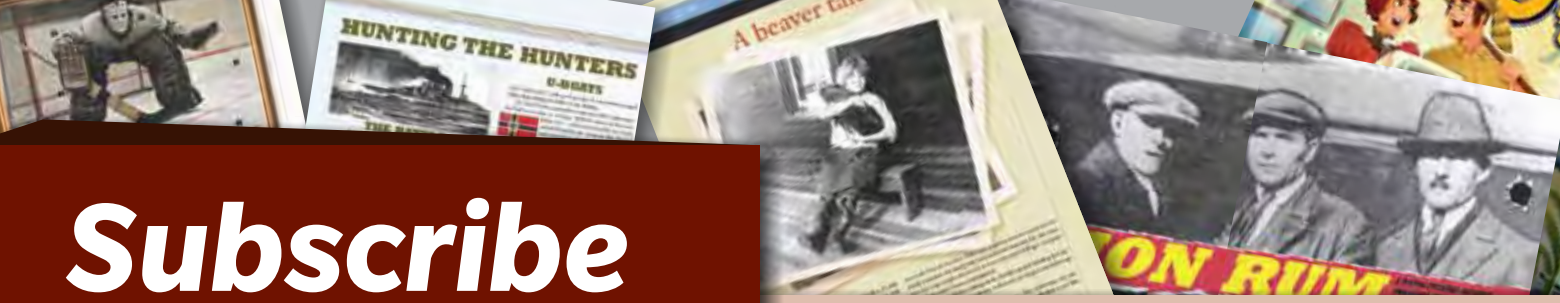
The historical association now runs regular bus tours throughout the summer exploring the multiple layers of history in the area, including First Nations, Métis, and settler stories.

"Let's try to look at the positives of all the cultures that love the prairies, love this landscape, have made a living here, and want to make a living here in the future," Neufeld said. "Perhaps there is value in our talking to each other and learning from each other."

Shortly after we finished our lunch, we started our drive home to Winnipeg with a new appreciation for the rich history of southwestern Manitoba and a new destination to which we will be sure to return in the years ahead.

Joel Ralph and Jessie Klassen share a passion for travel and for history. They live in Winnipeg.





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TALES AND TREASURES

From the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

THE MANITOBA MUSEUM, HBC MUSEUM COLLECTION

Navigator's sextant

European fur traders and explorers relied heavily on Aboriginal peoples for information about the land, water routes, and local resources of the regions they visited as well as for advice on the different cultures of the peoples they encountered. For example, explorer Peter Fidler used maps drawn for him by well-travelled Aboriginal peoples.

However, the Europeans also relied on surveying instruments to chart their journeys. One important instrument was the sextant. Sextants were used by navigators and surveyors and measured the angle between two objects. At sea, they were used to determine the angle between a celestial object — such as the sun, moon, planets, and stars —and the horizon. This measurement, known as the object's altitude, was used to determine latitude and longitude.

This navigator's sextant at the Manitoba Museum was created by Negretti & Zamba in London in the early 1860s. It sis in its original mahogany box containing an eyepiece, mirrors, a movable arm, and a measured scale. Written on the box is the inscription "Hudson's Bay Company, May 3, 1864."

— Maria Cristina Laureano

In The Beaver… 90 years ago

For the love of tea

An April 1924 article by Edward H. Hughes of the Winnipeg HBC depot, was an ode to tea. In his article, the writer provided a brief history of tea, including the evolution of the name itself. He also explained how the popularity of tea from different regions has shifted over time.

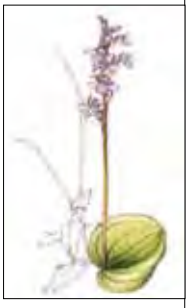
60 years ago

Quelle surprise!

It's hard to imagine a prairie settlement founded by French aristocrats, but this was the case when a group of men established St. Hubert, Saskatchewan. In a March 1954 article, A.E.M. Hewlett wrote about the exploits of these men. From the mid-1880s until just prior to the First World War, this group of French counts tried to establish businesses similar to those found in France. For example, one tried to create a market for Gruyère cheese. While they were ultimately unsuccessful, the men left a lasting impression on the people of St. Hubert.

30 years ago

Polar flowers in bloom



Churchill, Manitoba, is most famous for the many polar bears that can be found near the town. However, in the summer it is also home to a host of beautiful flowers. In the Spring 1984 issue, Linda Fairfield wrote and illustrated an article entitled "The exotic flowers of Churchill." The talented watercolourist spent eight years painting Manitoba wildflowers. Among the flowers displayed in the article are the butterwort, an insectivorous plant with violet flowers, and the flame-coloured lousewort, a member of the snapdragon family.

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to: **CanadasHistory.ca/tradingpost**.
To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to: **hbcheritage.ca**.

THE FAR NORSE

How the hunger for ivory — and the need to pay taxes — prompted the medieval Norse of Greenland to penetrate the far reaches of Canada's Arctic.

by David Keys

Discoveries made in recent years suggest that Canada's High Arctic was not unknown to Europeans of medieval times. In fact, the region was part of a globalized system of trade and exchange long before Christopher Columbus's arrival in America in 1492.

Artifacts found in present-day northern Canada and Greenland bolster the idea of a global trade network that included Baffin and Ellesmere islands. Driven by European hunger for ivory from walrus and narwhal, the Norse of Greenland embarked on extraordinary feats of Arctic exploration.

In medieval times, the most northerly Norse settlement in Greenland was located at around sixty-four degrees north latitude near the island's current capital, Nuuk. Yet Norse artifacts have been found as far north as eighty-two degrees latitude — around two thousand kilometres further north, indeed some seventeen hundred kilometres beyond the Arctic Circle.

Archaeologists discovered the artifacts over several decades at a series of nine medieval Native settlement sites in Canada and Greenland at the northern end of Baffin Bay, and the east coast of Ellesmere Island. The finds were discovered in 1935 by Erik Holtved of the University of Copenhagen, later by Canadian archaeologists Peter Schledermann and Karen McCullough in the 1970s and 1980s, and by others from Denmark and the United States. The artifacts include a substantial number of fragments that appear to be from at least one medieval Norse ship — rivets, nails, bits of oak, a piece of textile (possibly sailcloth), as well as fragments of metal blades, a carpenter's plane, other tools, and even chain mail.

But what does this cluster of High Arctic artifacts represent? Did indigenous people originally obtain the objects while trading with Norse further south? Or are the artifacts from a Norse ship, wrecked while exploring or trading in the region? Scholars have been debating these kinds of questions for a long time.

"Whether Norse visitors encountered these High Arctic people directly or the artifacts made their way north through Aboriginal trade may be difficult to establish conclusively," Parks Canada historian Lyle Dick writes in *Muskox Land: Ellesmere Island in the Age of Contact*.

The discrete nature of the northern Baffin Bay cluster —

DAVID SEGUIN

A contemporary artist's conception of a medieval Norse boat in Arctic waters.

Top: A piece of medieval Norse chain mail found on an island off the northeast coast of Ellesmere Island.

Below: This 1606 map of the Arctic regions by Gerard Mercator drew some of its information from medieval Norse sources. It shows the mythical Rupes Nigra as the North Pole and correctly depicts Greenland as an island.

the nearest comparable but smaller find is more than eight hundred kilometres to the south, in the Disko Bay area — and the number of ship-related items does suggest a shipwreck. The predominance of oak — rather than pine — and the particular type of metal bowl that one copper fragment comes from suggest the vessel may have originated in southern Scandinavia.

The mystery is, how did these Norse artifacts come to be found less than nine hundred kilometres from the North Pole?

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY

The most northerly point the Norse reached that can be definitively proved by scholars today is the small island of Kingittorsuaq, located off Greenland's west coast at seventy degrees north latitude. In 1824, a local man discovered a medieval runestone buried in a cairn on the summit of a substantial hill on Kingittorsuaq.

More recently, work by American cartographic historian James Robert Enterline — author of *Erikson, Eskimos, and Columbus: Medieval European Knowledge of America* (2002) — suggests that the Norse may have gone as far as Bylot Island — seventy-four degrees north latitude — near the northern end of Canada's Baffin Island. The key text Enterline used is a seventeenth-century summary, by the early modern Icelandic historian Bjorn Jonsson, of a long-lost letter written by a thirteenth-century Christian priest from Greenland called Haldor to his colleague priest Arnold. The text reveals that in 1266 and 1267 there were Norse expeditions to the Far North. The 1267 trip was organized by the church authorities of Greenland.

"The letter makes it plain that the priests organized the expedition for the express purpose of finding out where the skraelings [indigenous people] came from and what their distribution was," Enterline writes.

Another factor that suggests the Norse penetrated the far reaches of the Arctic is their apparent knowledge of a strange topographical and geological feature located at seventy-six degrees north latitude, which they might have come to associate with the magnetic north pole. Late medieval cartographers and others believed that the North Pole and the magnetic north pole were one, located on an island mountain made of black magnetic rock — the so-called Rupes Nigra.

The Rupes Nigra found its way onto medieval maps in a roundabout way. In medieval times, the magnetic island was first mentioned in a now-long-lost book called the *Inventio Fortunata* (Latin for the fortunate discovery). The book, likely from the fourteenth century, is said to have been written by a Franciscan friar who claimed to have explored the Arctic around 1360, purportedly on behalf of King Edward III of England. The identity of the monk is uncertain.

WIKIPEDIA

Meanwhile, a Norwegian priest who had been in Greenland is said to have learned about the contents of the book and reported the information to Haakon VI, the mid-fourteenth-century Norwegian king. A Dutch merchant then somehow found the information and included it in a travel book called the *Itinarium*. For the next two hundred years, the magnetic mountain information was included in maps and atlases to describe the topography of the North Pole.

However, of potentially great significance from a Norse Arctic exploration perspective, is the fact that two island "mountains," which may have been associated with magneticism, do actually exist

— immediately off the northwest coast of Greenland in the Cape York peninsula area.

Aerial magnetic survey work carried out by Danish and other scientists shows that the area around Cape York is the most powerful magnetic anomaly in Greenland — and one of the most powerful in the world.

Its extraordinary magnetic power comes from a huge deposit of terrestrial iron known as magnetite, plus a potentially substantial amount of meteoritic iron.

One of the islands, Conical Rock, is in an area almost entirley made of magnetite. The other, Meteorite Island at one time was known for a huge meteorite. Made of virtually pure iron, this meteorite would have been perceived by early explorers as magnetically powerful (although, in fact, meteoritic iron is weak in this respect).

The meteoritic iron came from a small asteroid that smashed into Greenland's Cape York area around five thousand years ago. Most of the asteroid's debris ended up under the ice and sea, but some fell on land. Small meteorites were collected over the centuries by indigenous people and later by the Norse and others. The Norse evidently used the material for tools and weapons. Danish archaeologist Claus Andreasen, excavating much further south in Greenland in 1977, found a Norse-manufactured arrowhead made of meteoritic iron from the Cape York area.

Icelandic medieval sources suggest that the late-medieval Norse had primitive magnetic compasses, so they would have noticed the strong magnetic effect of the Cape York area as they sailed or rowed past it. They likely associated the anomaly with the large iron meteorites on Meteorite Island. The largest meteorite there weighed thirty-one tonnes. Now in the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where it was taken in 1897, it is the largest meteorite ever moved by man.

The apparent familiarity the early Norse had with Greenland's Meteorite Island suggests they went at least as far north as seventy-six degrees latitude. Their information may have guided a succession of map-makers, including the German cartographer Martin Behaim, who made the world's first globe in 1492.

Significantly, Behaim's globe portrayed what is almost certainly meant to be Greenland as an island — and the coast to its west has an uncanny resemblance to the northeast coast of Canada's Arctic Archipelago. The relevant elements on the 1492 globe are consistent with real geographical features such as Baffin Bay, Baffin Island, Hudson Strait, Nares Strait, and Ellesmere Island. Greenland itself is described on the globe as the place where men could obtain white falcons — a type of extremely valuable medieval hunting bird for which Greenland was — and still is — famous.

The presence of Greenland as an island on the 1492 map suggests that the Norse either knew that it was an island or had travelled sufficiently far north to confidently guess that it was. What's more, the apparent inclusion of Nares Strait and Ellesmere Island suggests that the Norse had reached Smith Sound and had arguably progressed even further north.

A remarkable archaeological discovery made in 1996–97 bolsters the belief they had at least reached Smith Sound. On an island in Greenland's Hatherton Bay (78.3 degrees north latitude), Danish archaeolgists Hans Christian Gulløv and Martin Appelt found the remains of a medieval-era building containing the noses of at least twenty walruses, all butchered in a single season, all with their tusks neatly removed. Since the archaeologists only excavated a sample part of the building, the total number was probably nearer to sixty.

SCOTT POLAR RESEARCH INSTITUTE

There is one more piece of potential evidence that the Norse were in the High Arctic. Until almost 140 years ago, there stood on this island the world's most northerly monumental structures — two very tall and impressive stone cairns.

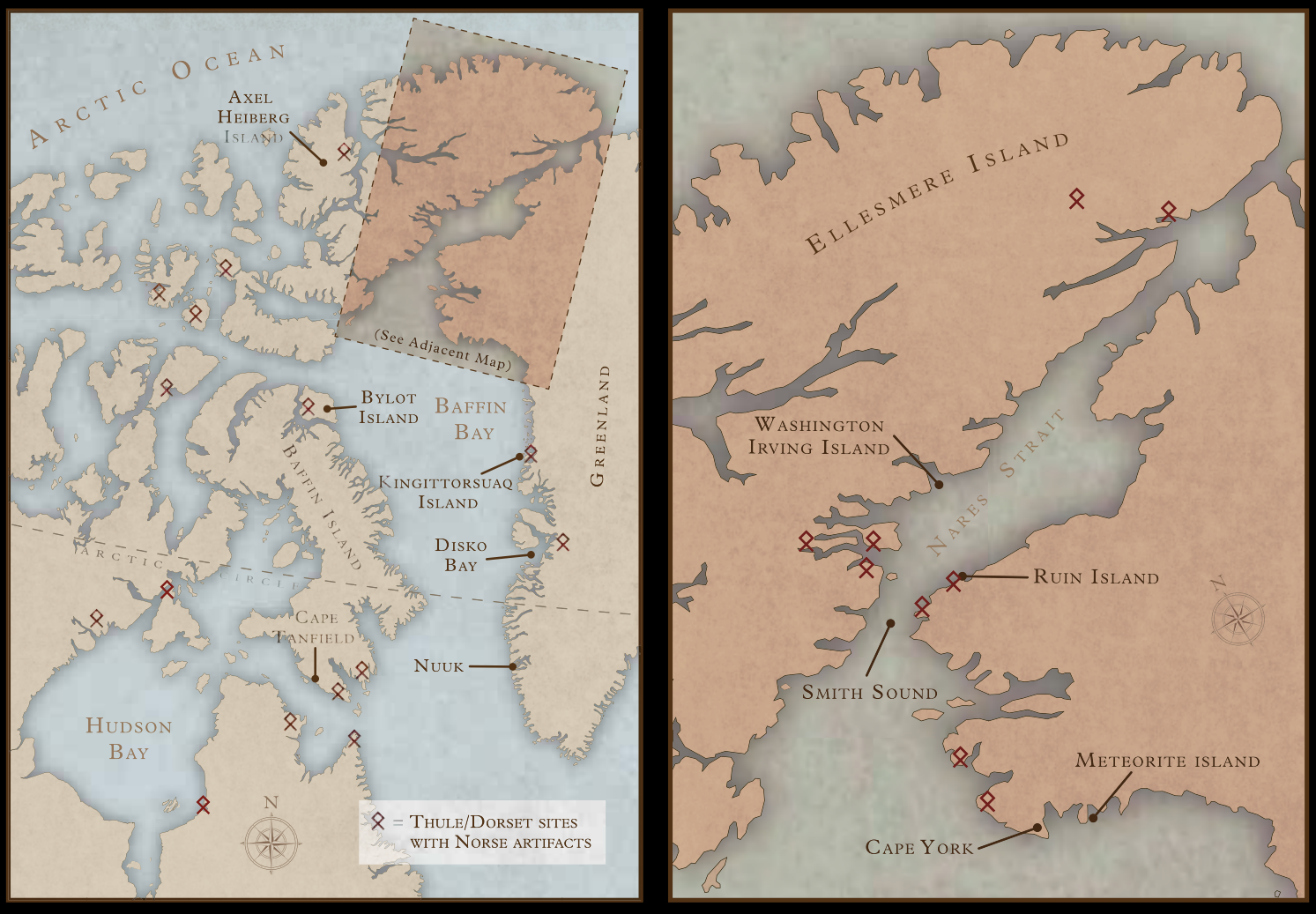
A watercolour by Edward Lawton Moss of the British Arctic Expedition of 1875–76 shows two cairns. These appear to be the cairns expedition members found on Washington Irving Island in present-day Nunavut before they were dismantled.

Dozens of walruses in a season is vastly more than any normal medieval indigenous family group would have needed for subsistence. Archaeologists believe these animals were hunted and butchered as part of a trading arrangement with the Norse. Hunters might have taken the tusks south to deliver to their Norse customers. But, given all the other available evidence — the boat-related fragments, the historical documentation, the magnetic mountain, and the cartographic material — it's more likely that a Norse trading expedition went to the area to receive the ivory tusks. Such expeditions may regularly have penetrated the far north in mid-summer, perhaps sometimes even annually, to obtain walrus tusks — the area's precious white gold.

There is one more piece of evidence that the Norse could have been in the High Arctic, even further north than Smith Sound. It's located in Canada, on tiny Washington Irving Island in Nares Strait at around eighty degrees north latitude. Until almost 140 years ago, there stood on this island the world's most northerly monumental structures — two very tall and impressive stone cairns.

Unfortunately, the cairns were destroyed in 1875 by the leader of a British Arctic expedition. Captain (later Vice-Admiral) George Strong Nares systematically deconstructed them in a fruitless attempt to discover who had built them — he apparently thought their creator might have left a message.

To hear a podcast about the Royal BC Museum's upcoming Viking exhibit, go to CanadasHistory.ca/Vikings



The map indicates Dorset/Thule archaeological sites where medieval Norse artifacts have been found outside of Norse settlements established in southern Greenland (AD 985–1500) and L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland (AD 1000).

Luckily however, his expedition artist made a sketch and later produced a painting of them.

Archaeological opinion is divided as to how old they were. Their location — on the summit of a steep three-hundred-metre-high hill — is more in line with Norse practice than Native Arctic tradition. Their tall slender shapes have approximate parallels in other areas of the Norse world, especially in Iceland. But their very shape might arguably have made it difficult for them to have survived intact through storm and snow since late-medieval times.

And yet, some features of the cairns and the site convinced Nares that they were extremely old. "Lichens which had spread from stone to stone also proved that they were of great age," he wrote in his account of the voyage, adding: "How then came this structure in such a remote and desolate part of the world? Can it be the work of some obscure navigator of years gone by?"

Regardless of how far north they got, it was the quest for ivory that apparently drove the medieval Norse to penetrate the freezing, inhospitable waters of northwest Greenland — waters that would only have been navigable for at most a month or two each year.

Ivory was in high demand in Europe during the Middle Ages. But, for around six hundred years, until the mid-thirteenth century, political, economic, transportation, and trade route factors had prevented most of Europe, especially northern Europe, from obtaining elephant ivory.

The result of this long interruption in elephant ivory supply was a boom in demand for ivory from the tusks of walrus. First, the walruses of northern Scandinavia were exploited and then exhausted. Then the walruses of the White Sea and the north Russian Arctic were hunted until their numbers became scarce. And finally, from the eleventh century onwards, Greenland became a chief source of western European ivory. As the supply of large walrus tusks dwindled in southern Greenland, the Norse turned their attention further north.

One of the major sources of walrus was inside Nares Strait — between Ellesmere Island and Greenland — where relatively shallow water, strong tidal movement, and the restrictive local geography resulted in the early melting of sea ice each year. This early melt created an Arctic marine oasis — an open-water phenomenon known as a polynya. This open water attracted large numbers of walrus — and walrus hunters.

Although they might have hunted the animals themselves, the Norse most likely obtained many of the tusks from indigenous hunters, although it is not clear what items the latter received in return.

The Greenlanders also exported small quantities of narwhal tusk. Narwhal, being rarer than walrus, was even more valuable. Most of it almost certainly came from Baffin Bay and the Kane Basin at the entrance to Nares Strait. Its value was enhanced by the fact that the European market was led

to believe, or at least allowed to continue believing, that narwhal horn came not from a whale but from the mystical and quasi-sacred unicorn.

This non-existent animal had originally been described by the ancient Greeks, who believed it came from Asia. As such, it was viewed not as a mythological beast but as a real, albeit very exotic, animal. In medieval times, the unicorn came to be regarded as the embodiment of the spiritual nature of Christ. Indeed its long single horn symbolized the power of the divine. In art, the unicorn was a sort of animal version of St. George, slaying evil monsters with its single pure white horn. So valuable were narwhal horns that, as carved crosiers and other high-status ecclesiastical items, they were often stored along with gold and silver objects inside cathedral treasuries.

The motivation behind Norse desperation to obtain walrus ivory and narwhal horn is quite clear. But what is less clear is what drove the indigenous people to exchange this valuable commodity with the Norse. The ivory may have been traded for perishable goods, such as woollen textiles, or for metal items since found at the archaeological sites — especially Norse iron blades and many fragments of Norse-made copper, bronze, and lead objects. But what did they use these things for?

The answer to this has a certain New World/Old World symmetry. For, just as the European Christian priests used ivory and narwhal horn for religious purposes, the Native people seem to have thought that some of the European-originating metal and wooden objects they bartered for or found also had some sort of spiritual power.

It is significant that they seem to have deliberately broken up many of the Norse objects they obtained. The Norse chain mail found at the archaeological sites was broken into small bits — sometimes just a single metal ring's worth. Equally, no complete oak timbers have been unearthed at the sites; only small fragments have been found.The objects appear to have been systematically broken up so that they could be distributed amongst the largest number of people. Ethnographic evidence suggests it is likely that many of these fragments were used as lucky charms.

DAVIDCOVENTRY

Top: A Dorset Inuit ivory carving of what some archaeologists think may represent a medieval Norse visitor to the Arctic.

Below: A 2012 dig at Baffin Island's Cape Tanfield, where Canadian archaeologist Patricia Sutherland uncovered evidence of possible Norse habitation.

"It is likely that the oak and chain mail were deliberately broken up by the Eskimos for use as talismanic objects," said Hans Christian Gulløv, an archaeologist at the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen."We know that wood was broken into fragments and used for talismanic purposes as late as the eighteenth century in west Greenland and the nineteenth century in east Greenland."

DAVIDCOVENTRY

A BAFFIN ISLAND MYSTERY

Recent findings suggest L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland, may not be the only place in Canada where the Norse put down roots. Research by Arctic archaeologist Patricia Sutherland points to a possible settlement on Baffin Island.

In 1999, Sutherland, then working as an archaeologist with the Canadian Museum of Civilization — since renamed the Canadian Museum of History — noticed something unusual about a piece of spun yarn in the museum's collection. Excavated by another archaeologist on Baffin Island, the cord was later confirmed as being comparable to yarn from fourteenth-century Greenland. Examination of other artifacts held in museums uncovered blade-sharpening tools with traces of copper alloys such as bronze — materials not known among Arctic indigenous people.

In 2001, Sutherland's team began excavating parts of the ruins of mysterious sod and stone buildings in southern Baffin Island and found more yarn plus pelt fragments from Old World rats, a whalebone shovel similar to a sod-cutting tool used by Norse settlers in Greenland, and large stones cut and shaped in European style.

Sutherland has suggested that the medieval Norse were actively trading with Arctic indigenous people and may have used the area as a way station. In 2012, Sutherland, an adjunct professor at Memorial University of Newfoundland and Carleton University in Ottawa, presented her findings at a conference in St. John's.

Scholars disagree on whether Sutherland has proven her case. But James Tuck, professor emeritus of archaeology at Memorial University, has said her research has become more convincing over the last decade.

"I don't think the case is one hundred per cent proven, but then nothing is in archaeology or anthropology," Tuck said.

Whether the Norse obtained ivory by trade or by their own hunting efforts, the pressure they were under to obtain walrus and narwhal ivory only increased with time. This was due to a set of complex factors, including the need to pay taxes.

Greenland was originally settled by pagan Icelandic Norse around 985 AD. They gradually converted to Christianity and a Norwegian church diocese was established in 1126. After that, inhabitants were required to pay tithes to the church. Then, in 1261, after up to fifteen years of delays and perhaps resistance, Greenlanders finally accepted royal Norwegian rule. So now they were paying taxes to the state as well as the church. What's more, by 1271, the Norwegian church was almost certainly trying to gain greater economic control over Greenland. In Norway itself, crown and church were involved in a sometimes bitter struggle, with the church seeking to defend its powers from royal encroachment.

By 1273, according to some historical evidence, a popular revolt broke out in Greenland, most likely against increasing taxation. Some Greenland Norse refused to pay a heavy tax imposed by the papacy to help pay for the Ninth Crusade — Christendom's last attempt to gain control of the Holy Land — and, according to research by Norwegian archaeologist Christian Keller, were excommunicated for a few years as a result.

DAVID COVENTRY

An antler carving found at a High Arctic Dorset site on Axel Heiberg Island, Nunavut, is inscribed with two faces. The top face appears to depict a bearded European. The Dorset people may have been in contact with the medieval Norse.

At the same time, market pressures were creating problems for the Greenland Norse. Besides ivory, Greenland also exported ox hide, sealskin, and wool. But by the 1280s, the bottom was rapidly falling out of these markets. What's more, deteriorating climatic conditions were beginning to make farming in southern Greenland more difficult. A warming period in the North Atlantic region that lasted from about 950 to 1270 had allowed southern Greenland farms to prosper with cows, pigs, and a variety of crops. When that ended, Greenland became even more dependent on walrus ivory as a way of paying taxes and trading with the outside world.

Certainly by 1281, a senior Norwegian tax official arrived in Greenland armed with a new set of taxation and other regulations. The problem from Greenland's point of view was that the tax was expressed in cash terms — and Greenland did not have a cash economy. Thus the quantities of tax paid in kind would have had to be increased as the cash value of Greenland's export commodities fell.

As if that wasn't onerous enough for the Greenland Norse, even the value of the walrus ivory they sought was in decline. By the mid-thirteenth century, large quantities of African elephant ivory were again available to northern Europe. This came about because of changing political, technological, and economic developments.

Recent research by Canadian art historian Sarah M. Guérin has demonstrated how the thirteenth-century textile manufacturing revolution in what is now Belgium and northern France generated a massive demand for high-quality alum — a mineral used in the manufacturing process — from West Africa. At around the same time the Genoese invented a new type of trading vessel — part sailing ship, part oar-powered galley — that was able to sail in the northeast Atlantic and exit and re-enter the Mediterranean through the navigationally difficult Straits of Gibraltar. The Genoese also signed treaties with the Muslim rulers who controlled those straits. These three developments — the demand for alum, the new trade vessels, and the treaties — facilitated the launch of a new sea route linking North Africa and northwest Europe.

From around 1240 on, high-value goods like large African elephant tusks could, for the first time, be shipped in substantial quantities to northwest European countries. It's likely that this new development drove down the value of walrus ivory and then obliged the Greenlanders to obtain more tusks in order to maintain the value of their ivory tax-in-kind shipments to the authorities in Norway.

The archaeological evidence suggests that it was in the following few decades — between 1280 and 1350 — that Norse vessels departed from Greenland's western settlement and travelled northwards about a thousand kilometres.

It is likely that the vessels were relatively small — probably around a dozen metres long and weighing around three tonnes — since hunting walrus and negotiating sea-ice would have required a small, lightweight, ultra-manoeuvrable vessel that could be rowed with ease. Hunting did not require large numbers of men — and the carrying of provisions

would have been kept to a minimum. To assess how such boats would cope in the waters off Greenland, the Viking Ship Museum of Roskilde, Denmark, is developing plans to send a replica Norse boat along the Greenland coast within the next few years.

These small longboats would each have had a crew of around ten and would each have been capable of taking back many dozens of walrus tusks and narwhal horns. The Norse would have wanted to obtain tusks from the indigenous people through barter — but they might also have anticipated the possibility of armed encounters with them. At least one of the Norse mariners, perhaps the leader of one of the expeditions, wore chain mail. Or, if it wasn't worn, the protective military attire was kept on board a vessel.

That vessel probably got as far as the Smith Sound area at the northern end of Baffin Bay. There, it appears to have gotten into trouble — either wrecked in a storm, attacked by local people, or trapped as the sea began to freeze over. Whatever its fate, it seems to have reached a latitude that was probably not visited again by outsiders for more than five hundred years when modern European and North American exploration of the High Arctic began.

Ellesmere Island and northern Greenland were extraordinarily remote places in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but their indigenous and Norse economies were nevertheless enmeshed with that of the wider world. The Ninth Crusade — from 1271 to 1272 — triggered increased tax pressures on Greenland at the same time as an influx of elephant ivory to Europe drove down the value of walrus ivory and therefore increased the quantities that the Norse Greenlanders needed to obtain. Meanwhile, medieval English protectionist policies to defend England's predominance in the wool market helped reduce the viability of Greenland's wool exports, making Arctic luxury products like walrus ivory and narwhal horn more important for Greenland's economic survival.

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY

This Norse carpenter's plane, found off Ellesmere Island, dates to the medieval era.

Even when Columbus was planning his voyage to the Indies, Norse-originating knowledge may well have contributed to his calculations. Indeed, a recent discovery in Spain shows that Columbus tried in vain to obtain a copy of the *Inventio Fortunata*.

The story of forgotten voyages virtually to the edge of the frozen polar sea weren't just isolated and remote events stranded in time and space. These were intrepid endeavours that were part of a much bigger economic and political complex stretching all the way from northeast Canada to deepest Africa and the political struggles of the Middle East. In medieval times, northeast Canada and Greenland were already part of a global economy.

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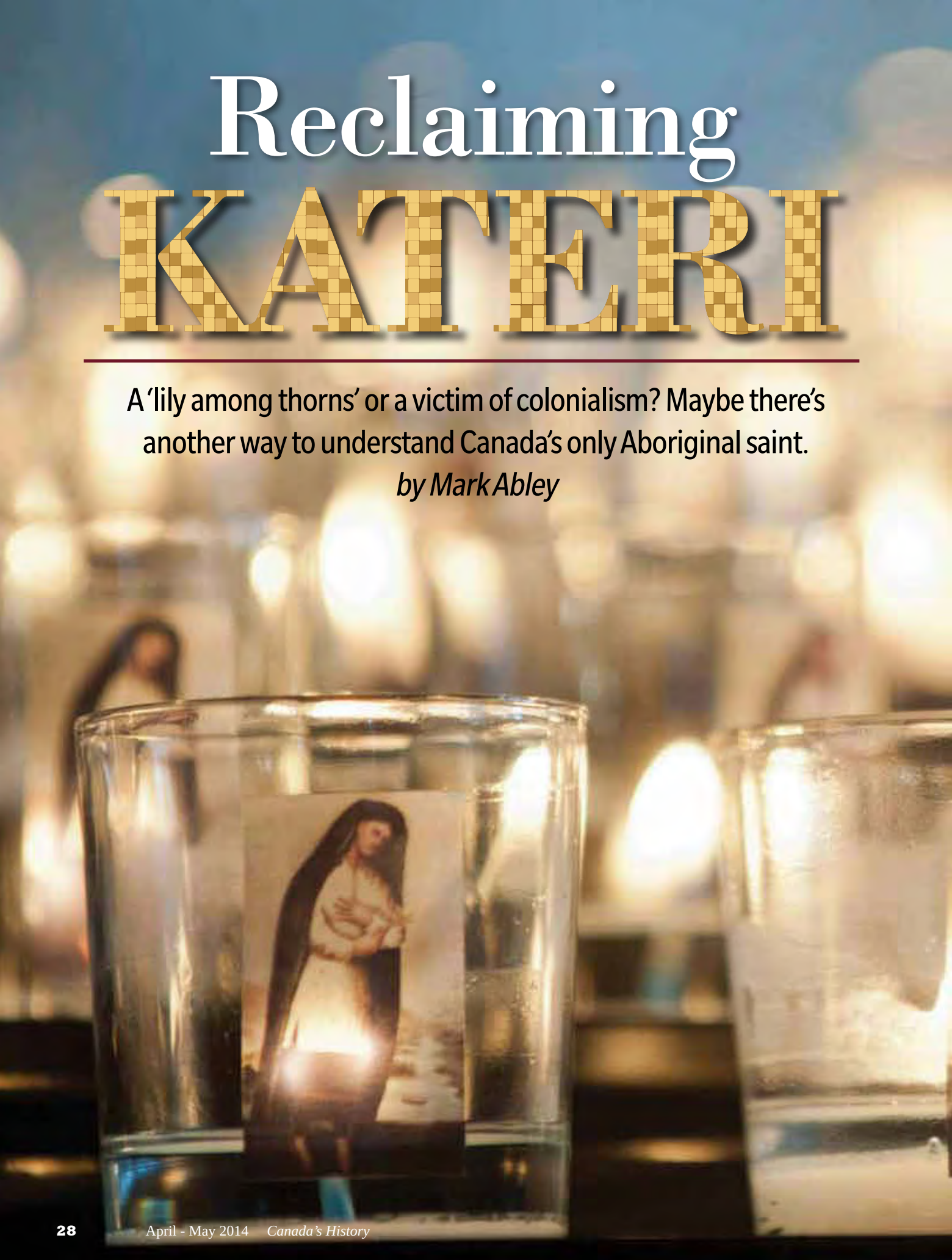
Reclaiming KATERI

A 'lily among thorns' or a victim of colonialism? Maybe there's another way to understand Canada's only Aboriginal saint.

by Mark Abley



On April 17, 1680, a young unmarried woman died in a little settlement on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River. She was a Mohawk. As a child she had suffered from smallpox, and its ravages left her with permanent scars. In the last few years of her short life, she had become a devout Christian.

That much is agreed upon. The rest is open to debate.

In the eyes of Roman Catholics, the woman born with the name Tekakwitha is now Saint Kateri. Pope Benedict canonized her in a ceremony at the Vatican in 2012. Yet, long before her canonization, Kateri — an Aboriginal version of Catherine, the name she chose when she converted to Christianity — had been the object of intense devotion.

To Catholics, her readiness to suffer without complaint, her self-willed virginity, her fierce love of the sacraments — such qualities prove that she lived out her faith in an exemplary manner. According to the Jesuit missionaries who were near her at the end, she told her friends to "Take courage" and "Never give up mortification." She lost the world and found herself in God.

Many Mohawks, especially those who adhere to the Longhouse traditions, see things very differently. In their eyes, Tekakwitha was a victim of colonialism. Having abandoned her own community, she cast her lot with the French invaders of her people's land. The French instilled in her a foreign religion that promoted ideals contrary to those of the Iroquois Confederacy, to which the Mohawks belonged. After she died, her image was used by the church to help stamp out Iroquois culture and to promote a vision of assimilation that remains alive to this day. In this Mohawk view, her life is to be

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Candles burn at a church on the Kahnawake Reserve near Montreal during a mass to celebrate the life of Saint Kateri.

Top: Pope Benedict canonizes Kateri at a ceremony at the Vatican in 2012.

Below: Saint Kateri is depicted in a tapestry at St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican.

regretted, not held up as a model.

Such is the division of opinion about Kateri Tekakwitha. In the Mohawk town of Kahnawake, where some of her remains lie in an imposing church near the St. Lawrence River, Kateri is one more source of discord in a remarkable community — one that is full of strong, tough, successful people but is all too familiar with bitter differences. The Jesuits hoped she would become a rallying symbol. She has proved to be anything but.

CANADIAN PRESS

And yet, in the past few years, another view has begun to emerge — a view that suggests a way forward, a chance to understand Kateri beyond the ruptures of belief.

"I think of her as a storyteller," said Orenda Boucher-Curotte, standing on a street in Kahnawake near Kateri School, just down the road from the Kateri Memorial Hospital Centre. "She's our window into women's lives in that particular period. What were the women facing? What kind of experiences were they having?"

Boucher-Curotte attended Kateri School when it was Catholic-run; now it's non-denominational. She earned a master of arts in the history and philosophy of religion from Concordia University and is studying for a Ph.D. at the University of Ottawa. She notes that the early texts about Kateri were written not just from a European standpoint but from a male one, too. "Yet we know," she said, "women were integral to the survival of that society. What interests me are the relationships she cultivated, before and after she came here. How can we reread her story, understanding it from a Mohawk world view?"

The way the tale usually goes, Tekakwitha was the daughter of a Mohawk chief and an Algonquin woman who had been captured and absorbed into Mohawk society. They lived in what is now upstate New York, in a village whose spelling has gone down in history as Caughnawaga ("by the rapids" in the Mohawk language). The mid-seventeenth century was a period of great turbulence, with societies and nations dissolving and reshaping themselves as European weapons, diseases, and beliefs swept over eastern North America. A smallpox epidemic left Tekakwitha an orphan, facially scarred and with poor sight. At four she was adopted by an uncle on her father's side.

CANADIAN PRESS

Or was she? Boucher-Curotte is not so sure. "The story doesn't make sense to me. She should have gone with her mother's brother. The Jesuits may have confused the kinship ties — they don't talk about her mother. I'm curious about all the things the Jesuits left out. Why did they leave them out?"

Missionaries were active in Caughnawaga, and Kateri was baptized at the age of twenty, on Easter Sunday, 1676. That fall she travelled north to the Jesuit mission on the St. Lawrence to live in the company of other converts. The community was founded as a refuge for "praying Indians." The mission was located east of present-day Kahnawake; it moved to its present location, across the river from the Lachine Rapids, early in the eighteenth century. Kateri lived only three years at the mission, spending much of her time in acts of fasting and extreme penance.

"Jesus, I love you," she said, before expiring in the arms of a female friend. Then, as the Jesuit priest Pierre Cholenec wrote, "This face, so marked and swarthy, suddenly changed about a quarter of an hour after her death, and became in a moment so beautiful and so white that I observed it immediately." To the faithful, this was Kateri's first miracle. She became known as "Lily of the Mohawks," forever linked to a white flower that connotes chastity, purity, and innocence. The lily was also a royal emblem of France and would eventually be a symbol of Quebec. Today, in the Catholic church at Kahnawake — named after the first Jesuit missionary to Asia, Saint Francis Xavier — her tomb has a carved lily.

Cholenec's story has been hugely influential. Yet, by describing Kateri's natural skin colour as "swarthy," and by associating beauty with whiteness, the priest created a troubling image for Aboriginal people. Before she was canonized, Kateri was beatified — a preliminary step on the ladder of sainthood. Maybe it's just a spelling mistake, maybe it's a Freudian slip, but a booklet about Kateri that is still available in the gift shop of the Saint Francis Xavier Mission at Kahnawake declares that, in 1884, the bishops of the United States asked Pope Leo XIII "to institute the process for the beautification of Catherine Tekakwitha." To the church she was indeed beautiful, once death had whitened her skin.

Darren Bonaparte, a Mohawk historian from Akwesasne, titled his 2009 book about Kateri *A Lily Among Thorns*. For him the phrase not only refers to the Old Testament verse in the Song of Solomon but also suggests how Kateri's people are too often viewed. Bonaparte set out to reclaim Kateri as a Mohawk woman. "It's as if she has always been a porcelain icon," he wrote. "Her memory has been so thoroughly appropriated that even her own people speak of her in terms taken verbatim from the writings of others. For a nation that has laboured for the repatriation of human remains, wampum belts, false face masks, and other significant items held by museums and universities, we seem to have neglected something just as important —

Twelve-year-old Jake Finkbonner, whose recovery from a life-threatening illness was credited to Kateri Tekakwitha, stands with his family in Vatican City during the canonization of Saint Kateri on October 21, 2012.

the memory of one of our own."

Today, Kahnawake, in addition to its Catholic church, has three flourishing longhouses where traditional spirituality is practised. The community also contains three small Protestant churches. Yet, through nearly all of the Kahnawake's long history, the dominant world view was Catholic. Akwiranò:ron Martin Loft, the supervisor of public programs at the Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Centre, grew up at the end of that era. "We used to go to the church for baptism, first communion, catechism," he recalled, "and Kateri's bones were on display. When we were children we used to kneel there and look down at the bones. Her image was there in the background. We had to kiss the glass and then wipe it clean with a little cloth for the next person."

Only a few of Kateri's bones are still in Kahnawake. As her fame grew, the church distributed relics as far afield as Montana, South Dakota, and the Vatican. Her skull went to Akwesasne, where it disappeared in a fire. A theft of one of her bones from the church in Kahnawake means that only a small replica is now on show. Such are the risks of sanctity.

"When I arrived here," said Ron Boyer, "I'd say the reservation was ninety-eight per cent Catholic." Boyer is an Ojibway man from northern Ontario who, as he jokes, "was kidnapped by the Mohawks. My wife's a Mohawk, and she always says, 'We're not fussy who we adopt.'" They settled in Kahnawake in 1957 and are among the small minority of Kahnawake residents who remain devout Catholics. Indeed, Boyer is an ordained deacon and spent seven years as the "vice-postulator" for Kateri Tekakwitha, building a case for her to be canonized. Meanwhile, the Vatican awaited a miracle clear enough for the already beatified Kateri to step into sainthood.

The miracle arrived with news of a six-year-old boy in Washington state, Jake Finkbonner, who had contracted flesh-eating disease through a cut on his lip. The bacteria spread quickly, the last rites were performed, and the boy's life hung by a thread. But Jake's father, a member of the Coast Salish nation, had heard stories of Kateri when he was young, and, at the urging of the parish priest, the family prayed to Kateri. A Mohawk nun who was a family friend visited Jake in hospital and placed a tiny relic of Kateri on his leg. Inexplicably the boy recovered, though his face will always be scarred. Soon Ron Boyer's work was complete.

One thing this story reveals is the extent to which devotion to Kateri has spread all over North America — and, indeed, farther south. On the day she was canonized in Rome, the church in Kahnawake held a large service, and Orenda Boucher-Curotte recalls meeting a woman who had flown in from Guatemala. "Kateri Circles" for American Indians exist in about twenty-five American states; at the Mission Dolores in San Francisco, where Spanish Franciscans established the first white settlement in the region, a statue of Kateri stands in the garden. In New York City, a bas relief of Kateri decorates the main doors of St. Patrick's Cathedral. For Aboriginal Catholics everywhere, she

remains a powerful symbol.

But a symbol of what, exactly? "Catherine Tekakwitha," says the narrator of Leonard Cohen's novel *Beautiful Losers*, "I have come to rescue you from the Jesuits." Cohen was writing in the mid-1960s, when there was "a plastic reproduction of your little body on the dashboard of every Montréal taxi." Now the power of the Catholic Church in the province has receded dramatically, and the meanings of Kateri's suffering and death are in dispute. In most of Quebec, her name is still recognized, but her story seems to belong to a distant, priest-ridden past. Yet vestiges of that past remain. Boucher-Curotte points out that, at the Kahnawake service in 2012 celebrating the canonization, a priest referred to the non-Christian Mohawks of Kateri's time as "heretics."

When Martin Loft thinks of Kateri now, his mind dwells on subjects far removed from the faith of his boyhood. "It's an incredible story," he said. "It's tragic. It's uplifting, if you're a believer. And, generally, people are proud that it makes us a well-known community. But you wonder about the legacy of residential schools, the abuses the people had to suffer, all the things that were done to ingrain Christianity in us. That's part of the colonial legacy we have, and you could argue she's a symbol of that." He stops and catches himself. "You have to be careful what you say. You don't want to offend people."

Watch a video about Saint Kateri at CanadasHistory.ca/Kateri

Kateri was confronting the question: How do you figure out these strange people and their strange ways?

Over the past year or so, Ron Boyer declares, Kateri's canonization has brought a "very noticeable" increase in visitors. Other people aren't so sure — and they don't necessarily think it would be good if crowds of pilgrims began descending on Kahnawake.

"I'm surprised, and pleasantly so," said Brian Deer, a respected elder and Longhouse member, "that there wasn't more hullabaloo about her canonization." Sure, hundreds of visitors came to Kahnawake when she was sainted and many residents of Kahnawake made a once-in-a-lifetime trip to Rome for the occasion. "But, after that weekend, I didn't notice an influx of tourists. What I feared the most was that Quebec province would hijack her for tourist purposes — but it didn't happen."

Deer said Kateri is "not on the radar" for most people in Kahnawake today. She is seldom talked about, except for an occasional negative remark made by people who are hostile to the church. Admittedly, her name remains prominent. But just because the school and the hospital have Kateri in their title doesn't mean people stop to think about the saint every time they go there.

Steve Bonspiel, the editor and publisher of the *Eastern Door*, Kahnawake's main newspaper, agrees with Boyer that "there's been an increase of tour buses. I live near the church, and I pass by them every day. But the problem is, the church in Kahnawake doesn't have any money, and they don't want to spend anything for fear of not getting the returns." In a community of about eight thousand residents, only about sixty people regularly attend Mass. The church no longer has a resident priest, and the dwindling number of parishioners struggle to pay an annual heating bill of roughly $25,000.

Unlike Brian Deer, Bonspiel hopes that Kahnawake will become a welcoming destination for tourists: "Pilgrims are coming here all the time, and they have nowhere to go. Even the people who aren't Catholics know that we're not going to stop them [from] coming here. At the end of the day, if they can find places to eat or hang out, the community would benefit."

His motives for saying this are not purely economic. Bonspiel wants to break down some of the barriers that separate Kahnawake from the rest of society. "There's still a prejudice," he noted, "that Mohawks act in a certain way." It's less than twenty-five years since residents of the nearby town of Châteauguay, infuriated by the Oka crisis, burned a Mohawk warrior in effigy. Some francophones still casually refer to Aboriginal people as *"les sauvages."* If the church's museum and gift shop were upgraded, and if local restaurants and cafés attracted more visitors, would outsiders begin to see Kahnawake more clearly?

Cross-cultural interaction is one of the things Kateri Tekakwitha did well. As an adolescent, despite her weak sight, she moved successfully from one community to another, impressing and finally humbling the black-robed priests she met along the way. "She was something other than a victim," said Allan Greer, a historian at McGill University and the author of *Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits*, the standard academic work on the subject. "In my classes I present her as someone of a Mohawk culture who was pursuing Mohawk priorities."

And what might those be? Greer, sipping a coffee in a west end Montreal café, looks slightly uncomfortable at being pressed. "I have misgivings about my own vocabulary," he confessed before saying: "Spiritual power. In a situation of crisis and turmoil, which is what indigenous people were experiencing in the seventeenth century, they were pursuing not just survival but empowerment — which necessarily has a spiritual dimension. There's almost a curiosity-driven exploration. People often think of the Jesuits as being heroic explorers of foreign lands — and that's what she was, too. She was confronting the question: How do you figure out these strange people and their strange ways?"

Kateri was steeped in traditional religion as well as in Catholicism. For centuries, that duality of knowledge was very difficult to attain. Yet today, said Kahente Horn-Miller, the coordinator of the Kahnawake Legislative Coordinating Committee, "the distinctions — Longhouse, Protestant, Catholic — are not as strongly drawn as they were. I go to the church for funerals, I've been to the midnight Mass for

CANADIAN PRESS

A nun carries a picture of Saint Kateri during a beatification service at the Vatican in 2012.

the singing, and I know of other Longhouse people who do the same. My aunt is a devout Catholic, and she goes to the Longhouse as well as the church." A generation or two ago, Longhouse people and Catholics in Kahnawake were never allowed to socialize. The lines are fuzzier now.

Orenda Boucher-Curotte, who also grew up in a Longhouse family, said that, for decades after the church's influence had waned in Kahnawake, "men wouldn't talk about Kateri, and women would roll their eyes. She didn't represent what it meant to be a Mohawk woman. Motherhood is a central part of our culture, and she forsook that. The Jesuits always pointed out how different she was from the other converts. That's one of the qualities of sainthood — they *have* to be different. But the reality is, she couldn't have survived for twenty years after her parents died without being part of a community."

Likewise, Kahente Horn-Miller suggested that different parts of Kateri's story speak to different elements in the community. The miracle stories may not seem to resonate for Horn-Miller, yet Kateri's "relics were used to heal others," she said. "And, likewise, we have our ceremonies, our herbs, our rituals, our traditions. Those are areas where I can identify with her. I identify with her wanting to practise her religion, too." Eventually such perceptions may allow more of the Longhouse adherents in Kahnawake to forgive Kateri her sainthood.

On a summer morning, Boucher-Curotte and I stroll around the Saint Francis Xavier Mission. She grew up attending a longhouse and, unlike most of the older generation, has seldom been inside the ornate church. We pass stations of the cross that have Mohawk names and carved prayers in the Mohawk language. But, in the church gift shop, a local volunteer named Cathy Rice shows less interest in talking about Kateri than about a 1907 bridge disaster in Quebec City that claimed the lives of seventy-five people, thirty-three of them from Kahnawake.

Near the front of the church stands a cross made of steel from the World Trade Center in New York; it was donated by Mohawk ironworkers after the terrorist attacks of 2001. Men from Kahnawake helped construct many of New York's iconic skyscrapers. They took little part, however, in building the St. Lawrence Seaway in the late 1950s; the project meant that about five hundred hectares of Mohawk land were expropriated, and Kahnawake was cut off from the great river. Across the road from the church, a cenotaph honours the dead of several conflicts, including the War of 1812. Memories are long here, and Kateri is only the beginning.

A second volunteer emerges from a back room of the museum attached to the church. She is carrying an oval case with a narrow rib bone inside. "I took it out of the safe for you," she explains. The label says, in French, "bone of Catherine Tekakwitha." I hold the case in my hands. Orenda Boucher-Curotte is looking as surprised as I am. And a moment of visceral understanding comes to me: Kateri lived and died down the river from where I'm standing now. She became a symbol only because she once had a body. This small curved bone helped her live and breathe.

A saint, perhaps. A Mohawk woman, beyond doubt. I take a deep breath of my own and give back the oval case.

THE CANADIAN PRESS/GRAHAM HUGHES

Father Jonathan Kalisch prays as thirteen-month-old Kateri Tekakwitha Muriella Caputo plays next to the tomb of Saint Kateri on the Kahnawake reserve.

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CANADA'S HISTORY

RAISING HELL IN MONTREAL

How a ragtag band of Confederates made Montreal its base during the American Civil War.

by Pierre Home-Douglas

It was one of the most unexpected skirmishes in the U.S. Civil War. Over a period of one week, two dozen men arrived in twos and threes in St. Albans, a small town in northern Vermont, telling local residents they were members of a Montreal fishing and hunting club visiting nearby Lake Champlain. Then, around two o'clock on a Wednesday afternoon, October 19, 1864, they assembled on the village green and pulled out revolvers.

"In the name of the Confederate States, I take possession of St. Albans!" cried their leader, Confederate Lieutenant Bennett Young. The men robbed three banks of more than $200,000 in money and securities, killed one man, and escaped north across the Quebec-Vermont border. Thirteen of the marauders were eventually apprehended and tried in a Montreal court, but Judge Charles-Joseph Coursol decided that, since their alleged crime was committed on foreign soil as an act of war, he had no right to detain them. The men were set free, and the bulk of the money they stole was returned to them by Montreal's chief of police.

The men's release led to an angry denunciation in the American press. The *Chicago Tribune* said the North should invade Canada "and throttle her as a St. Bernard would a poodle pup." American President Abraham Lincoln's response was more muted: He declared on December 17, 1864, that all future Canadian visitors would need a passport to enter the United States.

The St. Albans raid, the northernmost dust-up of the Civil War, is a curious reminder of the role Montreal played in the struggle between the Union and the Confederacy, both during and after the war that claimed one life in fifty in the American republic. Although most Canadians opposed slavery and sided with the North in the cause of its abolition, there were many Quebecers who supported the South's right to determine its own destiny and resist the centralizing control of Washington over its future. The *Montreal Gazette* wrote an editorial in January 1861, three months before the war began, in which it opined, "States held in colonial vassalage by force of arms would make a mere mockery of democratic self-government."

In general, the Civil War made people in Canada uneasy. Many cast a wary glance at the powerfully armed Northern army, worried that, once the conflict was settled, British-controlled Canada might prove a tempting target. Even after the war concluded, the concern remained and was one of the contributing factors that lead to the creation of Canada in 1867.

In the early years of the war, Montreal and other major Canadian cities attracted a ragtag collection of Southern sympathizers, including escaped Confederate prisoners of war with no direct orders from the South about what their role should be in the conflict. Instead, as historian Robin W. Winks has noted, they "established informal headquarters where they slept, drank, gathered to curse the North and to plot raids, and waited for someone with authority to show up to lead them."

At that time, Montreal was Canada's largest city and possessed a stable banking system, in which funds from blockade runners shipping cotton from the South to England could not be touched by the U.S. government. The importance of cotton to the British economy made many Confederates believe that

This woodcut shows Confederate soldiers based in Canada robbing a bank in St. Albans, Vermont.

ST. ALBANS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

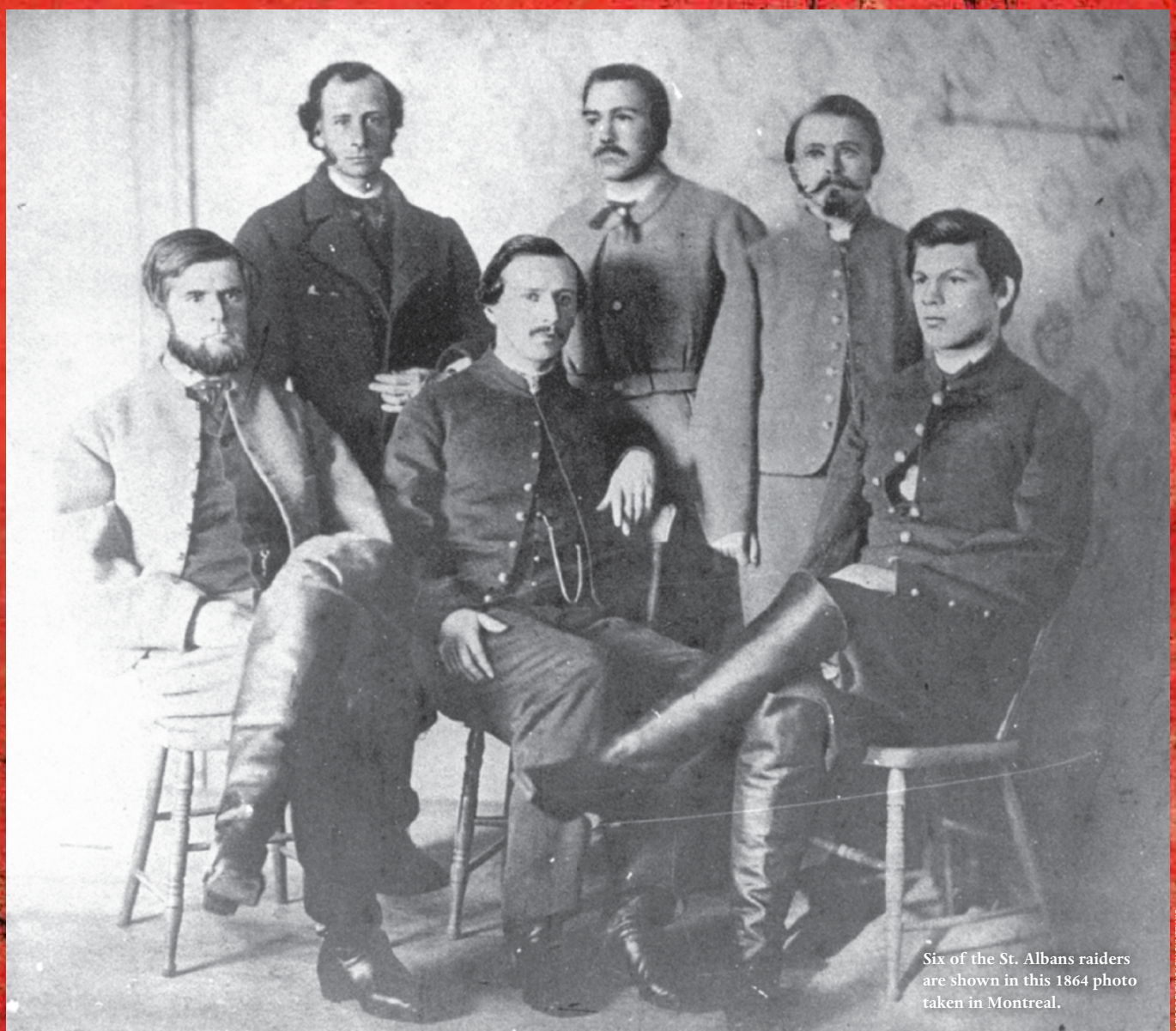
The main street of St. Albans, Vermont, in 1884.

ST. ALBANS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Britain — and therefore British North America — would have an interest in a Confederate victory.

As the South's successes on the battlefield started to wane following the pivotal loss at Gettysburg in July 1863, however, Confederate leaders considered the advantages of using Canada to play a more significant role in the battle against the Union. In the spring of 1864, Confederate President Jefferson Davis sent several high-ranking Confederates to Canada, including Jacob Thompson, a former secretary in the Cabinet of James Buchanan, who preceded Lincoln as president. Thompson arrived in Canada with a million dollars, a huge sum of money at the time.

In an April 27 letter to Thompson, Davis told him, "confiding special trust in your zeal, discretion and patriotism, I hereby direct you to proceed at once to Canada, there to carry out such instructions as you have received from me verbally, in such manner as shall seem most likely to conduce to the furtherance of the interests of the Confederate States of America." Thompson was directed to create a



Six of the St. Albans raiders are shown in this 1864 photo taken in Montreal.

ST. ALBANS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Confederate Secret Service in Montreal. Its goal, according to James McPherson, Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Battle Cry of Freedom*, was to "infiltrate across the border into the U.S. and raise as much hell as possible." In an interview with *Canada's History*, McPherson added, "Confederate prisoners of war in Northern prison camps who managed to escape also made their way to Canada and participated in raids across the border."

Most of the Confederate leaders in Montreal were housed in the St. Lawrence Hall, an establishment that billed itself as "unequalled by any hotel in Canada." It was located on Great St. James Street (now rue Saint-Jacques) a block west of Place d'Armes and was reputedly the only hotel in Canada that served mint juleps.

Among the array of plots discussed in Montreal was an attempt to destabilize the U.S. Treasury by encouraging people in the North to convert their paper money into gold and then ship the gold out of the country. The effort was led by former Nashville banker John Porterfield, a resident of Montreal at the time, who went to New York with $100,000 to buy gold. In a letter to Confederate Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin, Thompson wrote, "I must confess that the first shipment had a marked effect on the market. I am inclined to the opinion that his theory will work great damage and distrust in the Federal finances if vigorously followed up, and if no untoward circumstances should interfere with the operation." The plot foundered when Northern agents got wind of the plan.

Another plot discussed in Montreal was an attempt at bioterrorism. Kentucky-born Dr. Luke Blackburn collected clothes and dressings of people infected with yellow fever in Bermuda and shipped them in trunks to Halifax. From there they were sent to used clothing merchants in the North, where, it was hoped, the contaminated clothing would touch off a disastrous epidemic. The attempt failed because, unknown to medical authorities of the time, the deadly illness is transmitted only by contact with mosquitoes that host the yellow fever virus. Blackburn was eventually arrested and stood trial for violating Canadian neutrality, but was acquitted. He later returned to the United States and became governor of Kentucky.

One of the visitors who came to meet the Confederate Secret Service in Montreal arrived the day before the St. Albans raid: a twenty-six-year-old man of medium height with dark wavy hair and a drooping moustache. He checked in to the St. Lawrence Hall, where he stayed for the next ten days.

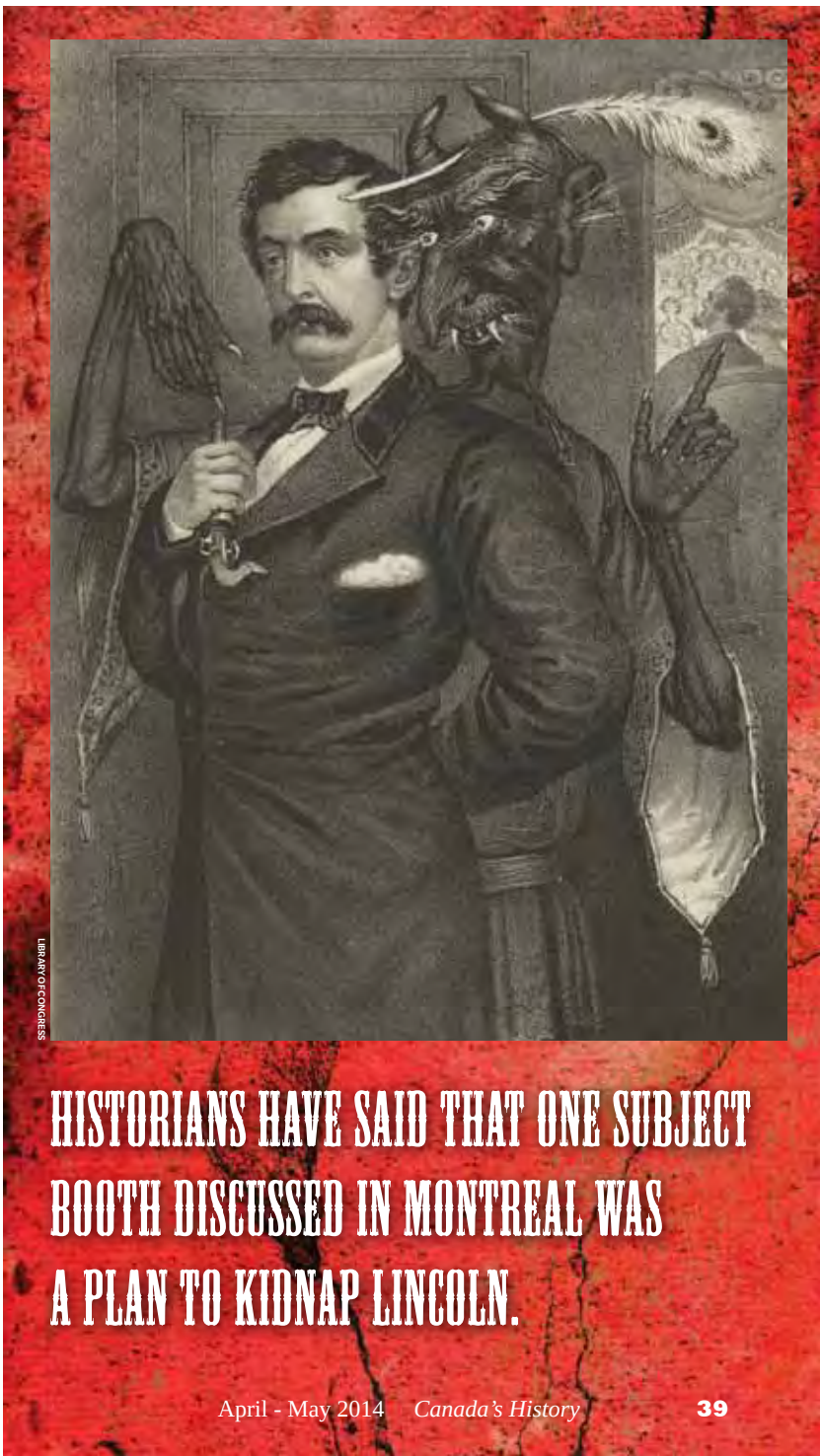
The guest was actor John Wilkes Booth. Some historians have suggested that one of the subjects Booth discussed in Montreal was a plan to kidnap Lincoln in the spring of 1865 and hold him for ransom, a plan that eventually was abandoned. Others historians have suggested that even at this point there was already a plan to assassinate the American president.

A guest at the hotel who met Booth at the time claimed later that, when he played billiards with the American actor, Booth said to him, "Do you know I have got the sharpest play laid out ever done in America.... You'll hear of my double carom one of these days."

Six months later, on April 14, 1865, Booth shot Lincoln at Ford's Theatre in Washington and escaped into the Maryland woods. After a twelve-day pursuit, he was tracked down and cornered in a tobacco barn on the Garrett farm in northern Virginia. Booth was shot in the neck and paralyzed. His pursuers carried him to the porch of the farm, where he died a few hours later.

When they emptied his pockets they discovered two pistols, a diary, a compass, some photos, and a bill of exchange for sixty-one pounds, twelve shillings, and ten pence from the Ontario Bank of Canada at Place d'Armes in Montreal.

In the meantime, his fellow conspirator John Serratt took refuge in Quebec. He sought protection with Con-



This 1865 etching features John Wilkes Booth holding a pistol at Ford's Theatre prior to the assassination of U.S. President Abraham Lincoln. Satan is behind Booth, whispering in his ear.

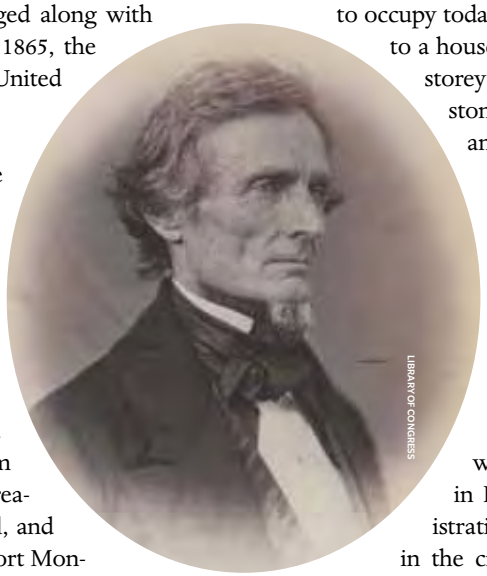
St. Lawrence Hall in Montreal, circa 1865–70, where Confederates established one of their bases in Canada.

MCCORD MUSEUM

Below right: A portrait of Jefferson Davis as a senator in 1859. He later became the president of the Confederate States of America.

federate banker John Porterfield in Montreal and was then moved to a hiding place in St-Liboire, a small town east of Montreal, before being spirited away to Europe.

Mary Serratt, John's mother, did not fare so well. She was tried for treason and was hanged along with three other conspirators on July 7, 1865, the first woman ever executed by the United States federal government.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Even after the war between the states was declared over on May 10, 1865, Montreal continued to figure in Confederate history. On May 18, 1867, the *New York Times* reported that an apartment had been rented at the St. Lawrence Hall for Davis, the former president of the Confederacy, and his family following his release from prison. Davis had been accused of treason, but his case never went to trial, and after two years of incarceration at Fort Monroe, Virginia, he was freed on bail.

His wife, Varina, had already sent her mother, her sister, and the three oldest Davis children — Maggie, Jeff, and Billie — to Montreal in the spring of 1865 after Davis's arrest. The family lived briefly with John Lovell and his family in a house opposite Christ Church Cathedral. Lovell was the founder of Lovell Litho and Printing at 423 St. Nicholas in Old Montreal, a building the company — still under the ownership of the Lovell family — continues to occupy today. Davis and his family later moved to a house at 1185 Mountain Street, a three-storey greystone building with recessed stone arches above the windows and an iron fence in front.

Regrettably, the building was knocked down in 1960 to build a laneway, but the buildings that adjoined it are identical to the one the Davis family lived in and still stand in Montreal on the east side of de la Montagne, just south of rue Saint-Catherine.

The courtly Southern leader, who once served as secretary of war in President Franklin Pierce's administration (1853–57), was received well in the city. He attended a benefit performance of the play *The Rivals*, a British comedy of manners by Richard Sheridan that was performed for the Southern Relief Association on July 18, 1867. Clad in a broad-brimmed white hat and a black suit and carrying a yellow cane, Davis slipped into his seat at the Theatre

See letters from a Canadian who fought in the American Civil War at CanadasHistory.ca/CivilWarLetters

Royal with Varina at this side. When the other patrons recognized them, they were saluted with repeated cheers, and the orchestra played "Dixie". According to a report in the *New York Times* on August 4, 1867, Davis replied with a bow. The correspondent added, "Such a unanimous tribute of esteem never greeted a favorite monarch as that expressed for Mr. Davis."

The evening did not end well for Davis, however. As he was leaving the theatre, a man gave him a slip of paper. When he return to his home on Mountain, Davis read the single word on the note — Andersonville — the name of the infamous prisoner of war camp the rebel side established in Georgia, where many Union prisoners died from malnourishment. Clearly not everyone in the theatre that night was a fan of the former Confederate leader.

That fall, Varina's mother, Margaret Howell, died in Montreal and was buried in the city. Davis and his wife moved to the Eastern Townships town of Lennoxville — "this little out of the way village," according to Varina. In Lennoxville, Jefferson Jr. boarded at an Episcopalian preparatory school. Jefferson Sr. returned to the United States in November 1867 to deal with the court case of United States vs. Jefferson Davis and did not venture back to Lennoxville until spring 1868.

In July of 1868, Davis and his wife set sail from Quebec City for Europe, where they lived before finally returning to the United States in October 1869. Davis died two decades later in New Orleans.

Just a few months before his death, Davis finally completed his history of the Confederacy. The account was written with the help of Confederate documents that had been smuggled at the end of the Civil War to Montreal, where they were in the vault at the imposing head office of the Bank of Montreal. The beaux-arts-inspired building, which stands directly opposite Notre Dame Basilica at Place d'Armes, remains a familiar sight to visitors to Old Montreal today.

Most are likely unaware of Montreal's place in history as a secret northern headquarters for the Confederate States of America.

Sarah Emma Edmonds was a Canadian-born woman who disguised herself as a man in order to enlist with the Union army. Hundreds of women are believed to have passed themselves off as men to serve, including many who were Canadian.

CANADA'S CIVIL WAR

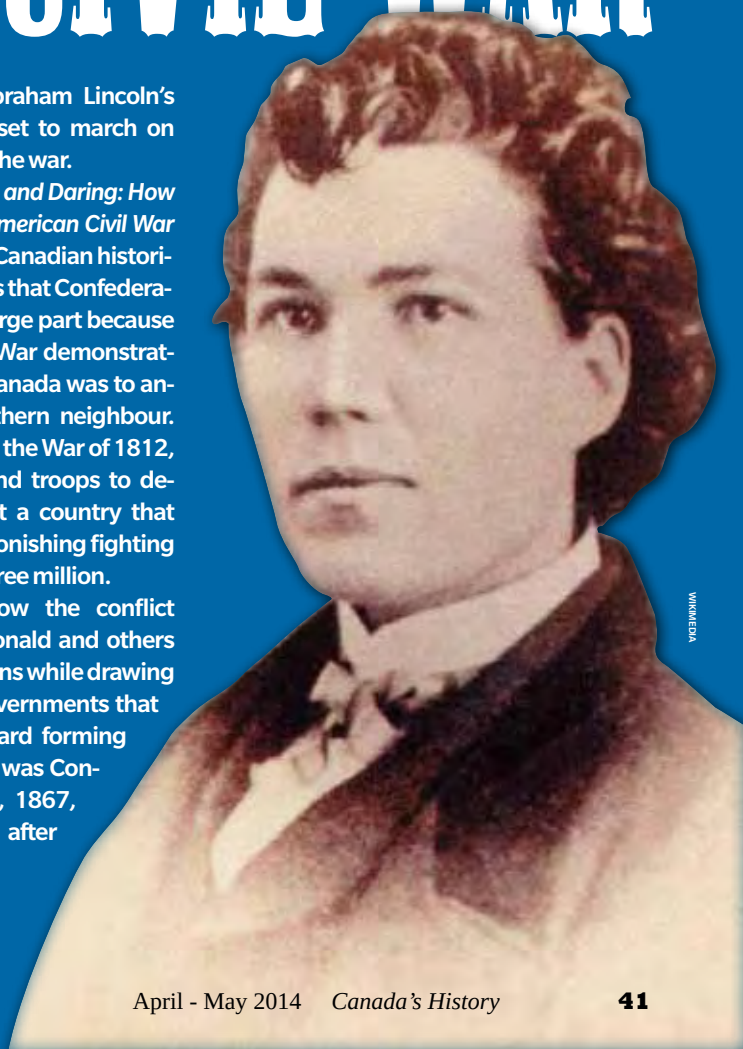
The American Civil War of 1861–65 is commonly perceived as the "war between the states" that had little to do with Canada. But, in reality, Canadians had a big stake in the war's outcome and were deeply involved from beginning to end.

About forty thousand British North Americans fought in the war. The vast majority signed up for the Union side, while about eight hundred enlisted with the South. Among those Canadians, intriguingly, were about sixty women who were killed while posing as male soldiers.

This side of the border functioned as a haven for escaped slaves on the Underground Railway both before and during the war. Some Canadians used the war as an opportunity to get rich — Halifax became a hotbed for smugglers, blockade runners and war profiteers. Canada — especially Montreal and Toronto — also became a base for clandestine Confederate meetings. Cross-border raids launched from Canada inflamed the war hawks in U.S. President Abraham Lincoln's Cabinet, who were set to march on Canada throughout the war.

In the book *Blood and Daring: How Canada Fought the American Civil War and Forged a Nation,* Canadian historian John Boyko argues that Confederation came about in large part because of the war. The Civil War demonstrated how vulnerable Canada was to annexation by its southern neighbour. Britain, unlike during the War of 1812, was not likely to send troops to defend Canada against a country that had mobilized an astonishing fighting force — more than three million.

Boyko shows how the conflict drove John A. Macdonald and others to pacify the Americans while drawing together colonial governments that were lukewarm toward forming a country. The result was Confederation on July 1, 1867, less than two years after the Civil War ended.



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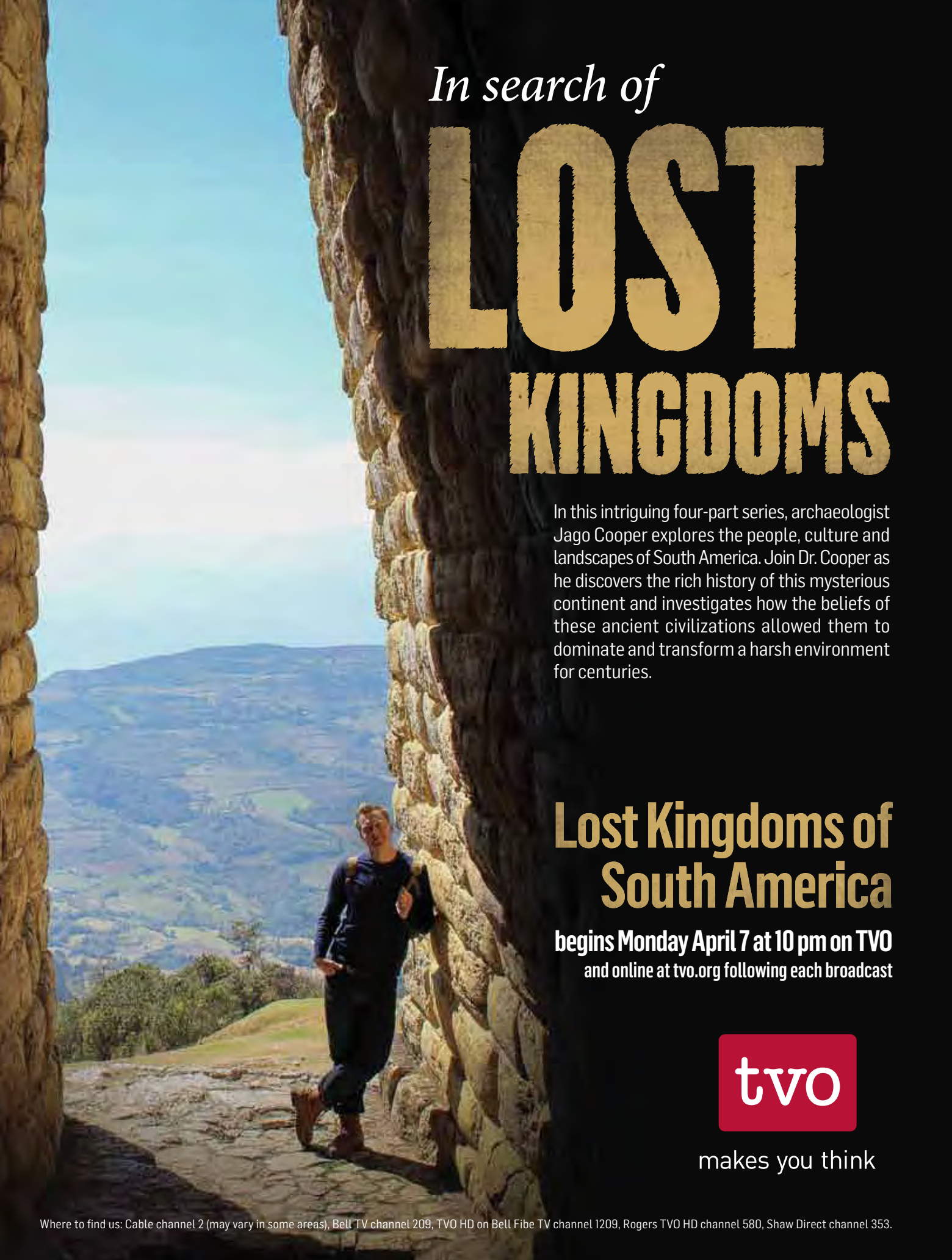

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When Smoking Was *Chic*

How early twentieth-century advertising turned tobacco smoking into a respectable pastime for women.

by Sharon Anne Cook

We tend to think of the 1920s as Canada's flapper age for women and as the decade during which modern women took up cigarette smoking. Yet it was not until the Roaring Twenties were over that it became somewhat acceptable for a woman to smoke.

By the end of the First World War, smoking remained a risky public act for women. Smoking signalled, to many, a woman who was "easy," "fast," and on the social margins. In recognition of this lingering taint for any woman who dared to smoke, advertisers resisted directly targeting women as tobacco consumers until late in the 1920s. A series of advertisements appeared in early issues of *The Chatelaine* in 1928, but after two issues they were pulled, not to appear again until the 1930s.

By the mid-1930s, however, the spell had been broken, and advertisers began courting the woman smoker as never before. The many representations of women smokers in this era of the Great Depression — on billboards, in magazines, newspapers, and newsletters, as illustrations for fiction, in movies, and much else — showed women differently than had been the norm in earlier advertising pitched to male consumers.

While a sexy and willing young woman still sometimes peeked out at the public, a new style of female smoker was being developed. This one was older and more serious, middle-class, skilled, and well-educated than her good-time sister of the pre-1930s. In short, the new model for the female smoker was a respectable woman.

By the start of the Second World War, when women moved into more paid labour to replace male combatants, smoking had become all but naturalized for the modern woman. Much of this change in attitudes is observable through the imagery of the times, both in ads and in personal photographs.

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY

Girlie cards

Before the 1930s, the incentives offered by tobacco advertisers were male-oriented, including prizes like girlie cards and games. "Magnet" is from the label on the inside of an 1897 cigar box. "You Know" is also a cigar box label, circa 1907. Both feature sexy, silly, and available young girls at play.

ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO

THE BEAVER ARCHIVES

Nursing an attitude

This line drawing of a student nurse was pictured in the Toronto General Hospital School of Nursing yearbook in 1929. The phrase "the right attitude" was meant to be ironic. Immediately under the drawing was written, "Things We Could Never Imagine."

A touch of class

In this 1933 ad in *The Beaver*, the Hudson's Bay Company reconfigured its tobacco brand as a sophisticated women's product, placing it with an evening bag and gloves.

Smoking with the stars

By the 1930s, women were being encouraged to smoke through the examples of cinema stars who made smoking part of their public (and private) personae. In this 1936 movie still from *Klondike Annie*, Mae West holds a cigarette holder to sharpen her sophistication.

THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK

Cigarettes for smart women

To help smoking be regarded as an acceptable activity for women, university authorities encouraged young women to take up smoking through their own advertising campaigns. In this 1937 picture, McGill University advertises its branded cigarettes for sale as a fundraiser. Queen's, Dalhousie, and other universities also branded their own cigarettes for sale.

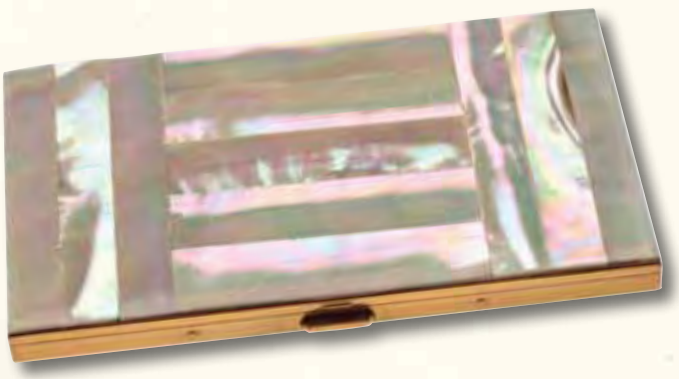
MCGILL NEWS / MCGILL UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

The Export A girl

Tobacco producers took images developed for other purposes — such as this photo on a 1936 issue of *Canadian Home Journal* — and refashioned them as their own. Respectably clothed in Scottish garb and beyond any hint of being a fast woman, this model was eventually adopted as the Export A girl.

View vintage Canadian television ads for tobacco at CanadasHistory.ca/Tobacco, compiled for educational purposes.



MCCORD MUSEUM

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Smoking with style

Many accoutrements were developed for the sophisticated woman smoker, including, as shown here, an upmarket cigarette case from the 1940s. In addition, women could buy match cases, lighters, coloured cigarettes, and filters to match nail enamel and cosmetic cases.

Crime and punishment

Even where "bad girls" were profiled, as in this pulp fiction illustration for a magazine cover, women were represented as powerful, mature, and sexually enticing — but controlled. This contrasts with the weak, adolescent, and flagrantly sexual young women seen in early cigar box art.

Girls with guns

The Second World War, during which Canadian women took up paid labour in factories and service industries, further normalized smoking. This official photograph from the John Inglis war munitions plant in Toronto portrays employee Veronica Foster as the so-called Bren Gun Girl. She is beautiful, hard-working and independent — the transition of the image of the woman smoker from a naughty and witless girl to a mature woman with all the trappings of success had been completed.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES

Breaking boundaries

In fashioning a new image for the woman smoker, respectability was demonstrated wherever possible, with maturity, independence, and even edginess added to the recipe. In this 1937 billboard, a female archer in a bathing suit takes aim as a bare-chested man looks on.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Ain't misbehavin'

As this photo from a private photograph album suggests, by the 1940s it was not unusual for a young woman to smoke while relaxing in a park, playing with a puppy, or enjoying time away from classes and work.

Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq displays a new cigarette packaging image of lung cancer victim Barb Tarbox during a news conference in Ottawa on December 30, 2010.

CANADIAN PRESS

STILL A LONG WAY TO GO

It's been a long time since the makers of Virginia Slims first enticed young professional women to smoke with the phrase "You've come a long way, baby." The brand was introduced in 1968 as the women's movement was gaining momentum. The popular slogan quickly became a catchphrase for women's freedom and empowerment. Canadian tobacco companies put out similar ads.

Today, such flagrant messages are gone in Canada, replaced by shocking pictures on cigarette packages of blackened lungs and an emaciated woman dying of cancer. Here's how smoking for women went from being seen as sexy and sophisticated to selfish and irresponsible:

- 1954: The Canadian Cancer Society issues its first warning about the dangers of cigarette smoking.
- 1963: A bill to restrict tobacco advertising, require warning labels, and reduce tar and nicotine levels is defeated in Parliament. Tobacco companies issue a voluntary advertising code the following year.
- 1971: Canadian tobacco producers announce they will no longer advertise on radio or television.
- 1976: "Light" cigarettes with lower tar levels are introduced in Canada and are heavily advertised in women's magazines.
- 1988: The Tobacco Products Control Act prohibits all advertising of tobacco products in Canada and requires warning labels on packaging. After a lengthy legal challenge from tobacco companies, the act is upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1995.
- 2003: Tobacco companies are no longer allowed to use their names to sponsor sporting events, such as the du Maurier Ltd. Classic, a women's golf tour event now known as the Canadian Women's Open.
- 2008: Retail displays of cigarettes are outlawed in six provinces.
- 2010: Federal legislation requires anti-smoking warnings to cover seventy-five per cent of cigarette packages. One label shows a graphic image of anti-smoking activist Barb Tarbox — a former model — days before her death from lung cancer at age forty-two.
- Today: In spite of anti-smoking campaigns, tobacco still holds a powerful attraction. One in five Canadian women smoke, with the rate higher among younger women and those who are marginalized by race, poverty, or addictions.

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CANADA'S HISTORY

Mormons in Cardston, Alberta, celebrate the dedication of a new temple on August 24, 1923.

GLENBOW ARCHIVES NA-512-3

Baptizing the dead

Why some groups are uneasy about the Mormon obsession with genealogy. By Paul Jones

As we discussed in the previous issue, the typical Canadian associates Mormonism with polygamy, preternaturally polite Utahans, and clandestine baptisms of dead popes. And, oh yeah, they do genealogy.

So why do Mormons engage in genealogy? In my previous column, I described the unmatched contributions of Mormonism to the field. We also explored the doctrine of "continuing revelation" that allows leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the LDS Church) to adjust or even reverse doctrine — for instance, the 1890 banning of polygamy, which had previously been encouraged.

Some revelations have been an unalloyed success from the get-go. Consistent with his view that he was restoring, not reforming, Christianity, Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, championed what he took to be the documented Biblical practice of baptism in death and reconfigured it as proxy, or vicarious, baptism. Why should someone be denied Heaven for all eternity, his argument went, because he or she was not so fortunate as to be baptized in life? In 1840, addressing the funeral of an unbaptized Mormon convert, Smith spoke of the desirability of baptizing the departed through a proxy. He also assured a woman in the crowd that her recently deceased unbaptized son could indeed receive the sacrament, clearing the way for parent and child to enjoy the eternal hereafter "sealed" together.

In an era when life expectancy was much less than today, the Mormon "ordinances" of proxy baptism of the dead and "sealing" family relationships in eternity seemed a literal godsend to the bereaved and became powerful tools in attracting converts to the faith. Mormonism promised an irrepressibly upbeat American take on religion at a time when the country was ascending to world leadership in so many other fields. Soon the dead were being baptized by the boatload, and the process continues to this day with earnest Mormon teens often serving as the proxies.

Yet, for the ordinances to work as intended, it was essential to unambiguously identify who had to be baptized and who should be sealed to whom. The priesthood needed names, family relationships, dates. And it couldn't afford mistakes. Who wants to spend eternity "sealed" to the wrong set of relatives because of slapdash work at the temple? In short, Mormons required accurate family trees, the production of which would in turn depend on the ready availability of records that had hitherto been accessible to only the most persistent and well-travelled researchers. Hence LDS Church president Wilford Woodruff — who had outlawed polygamy four years earlier — made two important proclamations in 1894. First, he announced a revelation obliging Mormons to perform temple ordinances on their ancestors. Then, he inaugurated the Genealogical Society of Utah, thereby kick-starting Mormonism's unstinting efforts to acquire copies of the entire world's genealogically relevant documents.

What many did not recognize was that proxy baptism wasn't confined to Mormon relatives and ancestors. Woodruff envisioned that ordinances could also be performed on documented non-Mormons and that they would have the option to accept or reject the offer from beyond the grave. Death would no longer be a barrier to Mormon evangelism.

So there was no free lunch — or, at least, no free genealogy — for non-Mormons. As the contents of LDS databases have become more transparent in the Internet era, the extent and inappropriateness of the proxy baptism program have become clear:

- Catholics were outraged to find that all the popes had been baptized in death; accordingly, since 2008, the Vatican has forbidden local dioceses to share their records with the LDS Church.
- Jews were similarly appalled to learn that hundreds of thousands of Holocaust victims had been given the treatment — Anne Frank no fewer than nine times, in what we might think of as spam for the spirit world.
- During the last U.S. presidential election, Mitt Romney, a devout Mormon, was heavily criticized in some quarters for never fully disclosing his precise role in the proxy baptism of his atheist father-in-law.

In response to the worst excesses, the LDS Church brass has apologized repeatedly, removed inappropriate names from their databases of ordinances, and issued increasingly firm policies limiting proxy baptisms to the families and ancestors of LDS members. That's the easy part. Policing the activities of fifteen million Mormons is proving a challenge, and new transgressions keep being discovered, often outside the U.S., that deplete what little goodwill still remains between the LDS Church and offended parties.

Many find it hard to square this behaviour with their perception of the almost universal likeability of Mormons, so memorably portrayed in the multi-Tony Award-winning Broadway hit *The Book of Mormon*. Some ascribe this legendary niceness to the success of strong families in instilling positive traits in their children. Others more cynically say Mormon missionary training deliberately fosters an optimistic, trustworthy demeanour as an aid to evangelism. In fact the two explanations are complementary, not contradictory.

Perhaps more than any other aspect of Mormonism, the pursuit of genealogy captures the uneasy relationship between the LDS Church and the outside world. Church ordinances, conceived with the profoundly touching goal of unifying families in death, have resulted, a century and a half later, in the enrichment of humanity through the creation of what is arguably the world's most extensive archive dedicated to a single topic, the Family History Library. Yet at the same time these practices have led the LDS Church into fundamental conflict with two of the world's most influential faiths while giving the impression in some quarters that it hasn't tried nearly hard enough to discipline its rogue elements.

Genealogists have a vested interest in seeing these conflicts resolved. Around the world each year, too many irreplaceable documents are destroyed by fire, flood, mould, or human stupidity. Those who forbid the LDS Church from filming their records rarely put in place a digitization program of comparable ambition, so losses are permanent, a tragedy for all. Unfortunately, the interests of genealogists — and the future of a pile of crumbling documents — seem to count for little in the high-stakes world of priestly *realpolitik*, or in the holier-than-thou hideaways of Mormon renegades.

Maybe prayer is the answer.

Paul Jones, a former publisher, is a writer, a consultant, and an avid genealogical researcher and volunteer.

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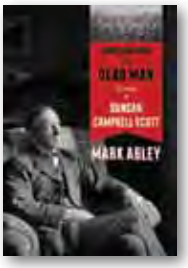


HAUNTING SPECTRE

Conversations with a Dead Man: The Legacy of Duncan Campbell Scott
by Mark Abley
Douglas & McIntyre, Madeira Park, B.C., 2013
259 pp., Illus., $32.95 hardcover

A 2007 survey in *The Beaver* (since renamed *Canada's History*) listed Confederation poet Duncan Campbell Scott as one of the ten worst Canadians of all time and was the inspiration for this trenchant biography by Montreal-based author Mark Abley. Well-known for his non-fiction books, including *The Prodigal Tongue: Dispatches from the Future of English*, and several collections of poetry, Abley became curious as to why Scott, one of Canada's most respected poets and men of letters of his time, would be part of such an ignominious list.

What Abley discovered shocked him: Scott had another career as a lifelong federal civil servant, rising to the influential post of deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932. In this meticulously researched biography aimed at the common reader, but certain to interest academic specialists as well, Abley notes: "So effectively did Duncan Campbell Scott perform his job that for a whole generation of Aboriginal people, his was the defining voice of Ottawa, the government stone face."

Scott entered the federal service at age seventeen as a copying clerk through the patronage of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, who responded to the appeal of his friend, Duncan's father, the cash-poor Methodist minister William Scott. Through his hard work as a bureaucrat, the budding poet rose in the ranks to the post that would become his downfall.

Abley uses the literary device of a ghost to imaginatively spar with "the dead man." In several chapters Duncan Campbell Scott appears to Abley in his living room as a prim middle-aged man dressed in a three-piece grey suit and "perfectly shined" black shoes. Both interlocutors turn out to have agendas. Abley confronts Scott with the harm he committed enforcing the government's assimilation program to deal with the "Indian problem," a program that included the residential schools, treaties, and racist propaganda. Meanwhile, the biographer does not repress his anger towards his subject's actions. The dour, self-defensive ghost can only respond that he was "a creature of his own age."

Scott's "other" life included rising as an influential poet and man of culture in the capital city, Ottawa. He rubbed elbows with well-known figures such as the English poet Rupert Brooke and the Aboriginal writer-performer Pauline Johnson, whom he disliked for her outspokenness against the government's policies.

He also endured a personal tragedy. His marriage to Boston violinist Belle Botsford produced one daughter, named Elizabeth, who died of scarlet fever at eleven years old in a private boarding school in France. This loss didn't change Scott's attitude towards the residential schools he administered, where numberless Aboriginal children, taken from their parents, died of tuberculosis and starvation.

Poetry was where Scott expressed some empathy for his "wards," in a vision that was elegiac, seeing them as a doomed race.

In 1929, after the death of his first wife, Scott, then in his mid-sixties, developed a friendship with an aspiring young poet from Ottawa, Elise Aylen. Within two years they were quietly married in the downtown house where he had lived for most of his life. She was by his side when he died there in December 1947 of heart failure.

Conversations with a Dead Man is a historical biography that challenges readers not only by revealing the dark side of the legacy of Duncan Campbell Scott but also by suggesting the need for this country to rethink the true meaning of being "civilized."

Reviewed by **Anne Cimon**, a Montreal poet and freelance journalist.

DARING YOUNG LADS

Old Enough to Fight: Canada's Boy Soldiers in the First World War
by Dan Black and John Boileau
James Lorimer & Company, Toronto, 2013
448 pp., illus., $34.95 hardcover

On Salisbury Plain in Britain, during the early winter months of 1915, sixteen-year-old Private J.H. MacArthur of Vancouver stood at attention with his Canadian comrades in arms. He was proudly ramrod stiff in his uniform and carrying a rifle, as Queen Mary (queen consort of King George V) inspected the soldiers before they left to serve on the First World War's Western Front. Dutifully moving down the line of khaki-clad soldiers, she stopped before MacArthur. She paused and asked him his age. "Nineteen, your majesty," he replied. She stared and then shook her head, whispering, "you naughty boy."

Was it a royal reproach or a sly wink? It seems the former, but could have been the latter. Such was the ambivalent attitude found throughout Canadian society during the Great War of 1914 to 1918. Canadians of all ages knew that underage boys were enlisting for overseas service but did little to interfere. While military regulations stipulated that the minimum age of service was eighteen (later nineteen), thousands of teenagers, including a cheeky Canadian ten-year-old, enlisted and served overseas.

These young men served King and country. While some conscientious recruiting sergeants and medical officers denied the unwhiskered and baby-faced the chance to carry a rifle, other regimental representatives had quotas to fill and pointed to where the boy should sign. As thirteen-year-old Roy Henley remarked of the enlistment process in 1915, "They were looking for warm bodies. They looked in one ear and if they couldn't see through, well, you were

in." Henley served as a soldier and survived the war, although he suffered a shrapnel wound in his back, dangerously close to his spine. Thousands of other underage teenagers, most of them between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, slipped into the army and then overseas.

While some of the absurdly young were siphoned off for special training units in England — including the largest, called the Young Soldiers Battalion — thousands of underage boys served in the trenches. Records do not reveal the full number of underage Canadian soldiers — since they lied about their ages in order to to enlist — but estimates are as high as twenty thousand. These soldiers trudged into the line amid shells and dismembered bodies. Some of the boys served with great gallantry, while others were crushed by the pressure.

Dan Black, respected editor of *Legion Magazine*, and John Boileau, a retired army colonel and the author of ten books, tell the compelling story of Canada's war effort through these underage witnesses. While no new interpretations are offered in chronicling Canada's war effort, Black and Boileau have conducted prodigious research to unearth these hidden stories of service. The authors bring to light dozens of powerful stories of service and sacrifice from these young soldiers, uncovering wartime letters, post-war memoirs, and oral histories that shed light on their wartime experiences. Equally powerful are the many photographs of young men in uniform that continually jolt the reader. Few of these adolescents could now be mistaken for adults.

Perhaps the greatest strength of *Old Enough to Fight* is that these stories may resonate deeply with today's youth and help them to connect with the war of one hundred years ago. Knowing that thousands of teenagers served in the trenches may help today's youth reflect upon the service, sacrifice, and folly of a Canada and its peoples that seems both very far away and ever so close.

By war's end, an estimated two thousand underage soldiers were killed, contributing to Canada's ghastly wartime death toll of sixty-six thousand slain. Donald Gordon of the 8th Battalion, another teenaged soldier, served in the Ypres salient in April 1915. Amid the mud and carnage, and the stench of unburied corpses, young Gordon scrawled in the Bible under his tunic, "Goodbye Mother, Forgive Me." He was killed by a sniper's bullet a few days later. We'll never know if his mother forgave him. I hope she did.

Reviewed by **Tim Cook**, the recipient of the 2013 Governor General's History Award for Popular Media: The Pierre Berton Award.

COLD CAPTIVITY

Canada's Forgotten Slaves: Two Hundred Years of Bondage
by Marcel Trudel
Véhicule Press, Montreal, 2013
324 pp., $27.95 paperback

Few, if any, historians have studied slavery in Canada as thoroughly as Marcel Trudel has. While Trudel's work covers only French Canada, that does not mean slavery did not exist in English Canada, only that anglophone historians have not paid much attention to it.

Originally published in 1960 as *L'Escalvage au Canada français*, with updated editions published in 2004 and 2009, Trudel's book was not translated into English until 2013. One is left to wonder why. After all, it is groundbreaking work that shatters the stereotype of Canada as a refuge for those seeking freedom from slavery. In fact, Trudel's writing was so provocative in the 1960s that he was ostracized by Quebec historians, and he left his home province to pursue academic freedom at the University of Ottawa.

Trudel painstakingly combed through institutional records and other materials and estimated that, over a two-hundred-year period, French Canada was home to at least 4,185 legally owned slaves. Two thirds of them were Aboriginals, the rest were black. That's a very small number compared with the 250,000 slaves who worked in the sugar plantations of the French West Indies in 1744 alone, plus the hundreds of thousands who toiled in the cotton fields of the American south.

What Trudel reveals in *Canada's Forgotten Slaves* — to the chagrin of some Canadian historians — is that the leaders of New France lobbied hard for slave labour. Workers were in short supply in the colony, and relatively high-priced. Also, there was the problem of elderly landowners who became infirm and had to rely on their adult children just to survive. If the elderly were able to own slaves to do the farm work, they would not need to rely on their own offspring for help.

Under Governor Brisay de Denonville, the colony in 1689 secured King Louis XIV's permission to keep slaves in New France (France itself had abolished slavery but allowed the practice in its colonies). However, the king and his advisors were cautious about sending a slave ship from Africa to Quebec because of the expense involved. They warned that blacks from Africa would not survive the cold climate of Quebec. One New France official countered, saying the slaves would be dressed in beaver skins. Not only would the Africans stay warm, the oil and sweat of their bodies would cause the long guard hairs of the beaver pelts to fall out, leaving a more desirable and valuable fur. There's no record to suggest this was actually done.

No slave ship ever docked in Quebec. The slaves that were obtained usually arrived from the Thirteen Colonies as war booty or through smuggling. Aboriginals enslaved their enemies and sold them to white colonists. Slaves in French Canada were owned by people in every level of society — including merchants, land owners, government officials, and clergy. For instance, Trudel lists the Jesuits as owning a total of forty-six.

Under the British regime, slavery continued. Governor James Murray owned at least one. Late-eighteenth-century newspapers often advertised slaves alongside animals. Trudel's book suggests there were slave auctions in Quebec, but they were rare. "Slaves usually remained the property of a single master, which may have meant that slavery had less of a commercial and more of a humane nature," concluded Trudel.

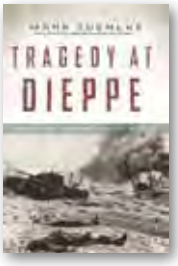
The slaves were generally put to work on domestic duties, often as cooks. A few

were employed as weavers, some blacks had trades, and some Amerindians served as voyageurs and boatmen. As Trudel points out, in Canada slaves were often seen as status symbols by those who owned them

This changed as the anti-slavery movement gained ground in the late eighteenth century. Slave owners, or would-be owners, saw the writing on the wall. By the time the British government put an end to slavery throughout the British Empire in 1833, there were virtually no slaves in Canada.

George Tombs' translation of Trudel's book is well done. The numerous graphs and charts are uncomplicated and easy to digest. All in all, it's a rare find — an academic work, translated from another language, that sparkles with clarity and is absorbing to read.

Reviewed by **Nelle Oosterom**, senior editor of *Canada's History* magazine.



GOING COMMANDO

Tragedy at Dieppe:
Operation Jubilee, August 19, 1942
by Mark Zuehlke
Douglas & McIntyre, Madeira Park, B.C., 2013
537 pp., illus., $27.95 paperback

One Day in August: The Untold Story Behind Canada's Tragedy at Dieppe
by David O'Keefe
Alfred A. Knopf Canada, Toronto 2013
493 pp., illus., $35 hardcover

The disastrous Canadian raid on the French seaside village of Dieppe on August 19, 1942, still summons passion and anger among Canadians today. Flanked on either side by sheer cliffs, the town was well armed and presented a natural defensive position. The attacking soldiers of the 2nd Canadian Infantry Division were shattered and maimed at the water's edge. Most of those lucky enough to survive spent the rest of the war in a German prisoner of war camp.

How could this raid have been conceived, and how could it ever have been expected to succeed? Two new books with significantly different approaches to history revisit Dieppe once more and try to provide Canadians with answers to these questions.

Tragedy at Dieppe is the tenth book in Mark Zuehlke's series that follows the Canadian army through the Second World War. Zuehlke's self-described "you are there" style succeeds in putting readers into the horror of the Dieppe landing. The graphic accounts of Canadian soldiers slaughtered helplessly on the beaches at Dieppe and the surrounding towns are troubling and horrifying.

Zuehlke provides an exceptional look at the battle. For readers trying to orient themselves to the events of the operation, this is an excellent guide, pulling together official personal and battalion reports.

However, while the after-action reports provide strong first-hand accounts, they nonetheless view the battle through an official military filter. There are times when the book reads as an extended official report, with entire paragraphs pulled directly from such material.

More importantly, Dieppe is a different type of battle than those Zuehlke has written about in the past. Unlike lesser-known and largely ignored campaigns such as Sicily, Ortona, and the Scheldt, Dieppe has been debated and documented numerous times. The battle needs more than a silent guide following the experiences of the soldiers. It needs a narrator who can guide readers through the historical minefields around the event that have been left by past studies. In that respect, *Tragedy at Dieppe* is largely lacking.

One Day in August, by David O'Keefe, takes a completely different approach to the Dieppe landing. With significant new evidence in hand, O'Keefe seeks to reframe the entire raid within the context of the secret naval intelligence war being fought against Nazi Germany.

On February 1, 1942, German U-boats operating in the Atlantic Ocean switched from using a three-rotor Enigma code machine to a new four-rotor machine. Britain's Naval Intelligence Division, which had broken the three-rotor code and was regularly reading German coded messages, was suddenly left entirely in the dark as to the positions and intentions of enemy submarines. By the summer of 1942, the Battle of the Atlantic had reached a state of crisis and was threatening to cut off Britain from the resources needed to carry on with the war.

O'Keefe spends nearly two hundred pages documenting the secret war against Germany and the growth of the Naval Intelligence Division. What ties this to Dieppe and sparked O'Keefe's research was the development of a unique naval intelligence commando unit tasked with retrieving vital code-breaking material. As O'Keefe's research reveals, the origins of this unit were at Dieppe, on an almost suicidal mission to gather intelligence they hoped would crack the four-rotor Enigma machine.

O'Keefe has uncovered new documents and first-hand accounts that provide evidence for the existence of such a mission. But he takes it one step further and argues that these secret commandos were not simply along for the ride at Dieppe. Instead, he claims, the entire Dieppe raid was cover for their important task.

It's easy to dismiss O'Keefe's argument as too incredible (Zuehlke does so quickly in his brief conclusion). But O'Keefe would argue that just about everything associated with combined operations defied conventional military logic, from Operation Ruthless, a planned but never executed James Bond-style mission, to the successful raid on the French port of St. Nazaire only months before Dieppe.

Clearly this commando operation was an important part of the Dieppe raid. But, while the circumstantial evidence is robust, there is no single clear document that directly lays out the Dieppe raid as cover for a secret "pinch by design" operation to steal German code books and Enigma material.

Taken together, these books present an exceptional opportunity to re-examine this important moment in Canadian history. Zuehlke provides a summary that clearly outlines the Canadian experience, while O'Keefe has uncovered an entire mission within the raid whose story until now had gone largely untold. All this suggests that a healthy debate on the Dieppe raid is only just getting started and that the final story has yet to be written.

Reviewed by **Joel Ralph**, the director of programs for Canada's History Society.

More Books

Forever Bluenose: A Future for a Schooner with a Past
by Ron Crocker
Nimbus Publishing, Halifax, 2013
128 pp., illus., $27.95 hardcover

Quick, check your wallet. If you find a handful of change, then you likely have the *Bluenose* in your hip pocket — its image has graced the Canadian dime for decades.

Today the *Bluenose* is synonymous with Nova Scotia, and it's a Canadian icon. The recent restoration of *Bluenose II* is a cause for celebration for anyone who cares about Canada's built heritage.

Forever Bluenose, written by former CBC journalist Ron Crocker, tells the story of how the famous schooner was saved from ruin. It doesn't shy away from the controversy surrounding the restoration. Some critics have complained about the high cost of the project. Meanwhile, descendants of the original designer of the *Bluenose* sued the Nova Scotia government, claiming the family holds the rights to the designs and that the province used them during the restoration without permission.

Forever Bluenose will appeal to any Canadian with a fondness for the famed schooner.

— **Mark Reid**

Blitzkrieg and Jitterbugs: College Life in Wartime, 1939–1942
by Elizabeth Hillman Waterston
McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 2012
261 pp., illus., $34.95 hardcover

Blitzkrieg and Jitterbugs is like a scrapbook of news stories, journal entries, and memories about how the Second World War affected university life.

In this book that is part memoir, part history, author Elizabeth Hillman Waterston tells the story through the eyes of someone who was a freshman at McGill University and a reporter for the *McGill Daily* student newspaper. While she is now a professor emeritus at the University of Guelph, Waterston's journal entries capture the tension between her role as a journalist and her experience as a student during the war.

For example, her class was devastated when one of her professors was conscripted into service. She questioned, "Should the paper take a stand against Parliament making military service compulsory?" But she remembered that the university's administration had urged the newspaper to "take it easy" and contribute to the war effort.

Most notable is Waterston's preoccupation with the circumstances of women. "The roles assigned to women look more and more unfair to me," she wrote after explaining how the administration replaced young female university staff members because they were concerned with social and moral issues on campus.

Her first-hand accounts combine to create a time capsule of social and intellectual aspects of day-to-day life far from the battlefields.

— **Danelle Cloutier**

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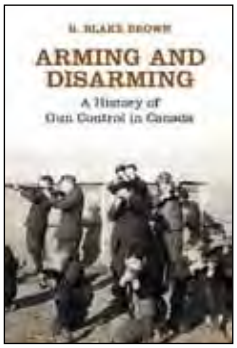

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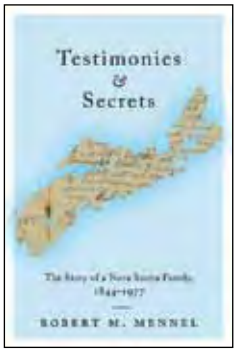

Testimonies and Secrets
The Story of a Nova Scotia Family, 1844-1977
by Robert M. Mennel
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UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
Advancing Knowledge

Canada and the End of the Imperial Dream: Beverley Baxter's Reports from London through War and Peace, 1936–1960
by Neville Thompson
Oxford University Press,
Don Mills, Ontario, 2013
406 pp., illus., $29.95 hardcover

As Canada approaches key commemorations for the first and second world wars, the country's British heritage has taken on renewed interest. Respected historian Neville Thompson delivers a compelling narrative of the last great years of the Anglo-Canadian connection, which is carefully woven together from the accounts of Canadian-born journalist and British Parliamentarian Beverley Baxter.

From 1939 to 1960, Baxter's *Letters from London* was one of *Maclean's* magazine's most well-read and influential columns. Although Thompson draws heavily upon this treasure trove of first-hand accounts of British political life during the eras of prime ministers Neville Chamberlain and Winston Churchill, this is not a book of excerpts. Only brief quotes from selected letters are used. Instead, in *Canada and the End of the Imperial Dream*, Thompson expands upon them, providing a rich context to the times in which Baxter wrote.

It's a great political history book that provides an insider's guide to the people and events that shaped wartime and post-war Britain as well as Anglo-Canadian relations at a crucial time when world powers and allegiances were shifting and Canada was confidently coming into its own. — **Deborah Morrison**

The Life and Art of Edythe Hembroff-Schleicher
by Christina Johnson-Dean
Mother Tongue Publishing,
Salt Spring Island, B.C., 2013
164 pp., illus., $36.95 paperback

The Life and Art of Edythe Hembroff-Schleicher is the sixth in the series The Unheralded Artists of BC and the second written by Christina Johnson-Dean. What a pity that it has taken this long to bring this relatively unknown artist to light.

Edythe Hembroff-Schleicher was born in 1906 in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, to well-off parents, and the family of five moved to Victoria in 1912. Growing up in a time when women were encouraged to pursue the arts, Hembroff-Schleicher attended the Island Arts and Crafts Club under the tutelage of instructor Margaret Kitto. In 1925 she trained at the California School of Arts and Crafts, and then, in 1927, she attended the California School of Fine Arts.

The attractive young Hembroff-Schleicher moved to Paris to attend the École des Beaux-Arts with her friend Marian Allardt in 1928. The duo travelled Europe sketching and painting, and in 1930 Hembroff-Schleicher had a painting selected for a Paris salon exhibit. Upon her return to Victoria that year, a local newspaper printed an article showing a photograph of her wearing a gown she had hand-painted — which led to a phone call from artist Emily Carr.

Despite their thirty-five-year age difference, distinct personalities and art styles, and lives that took different paths — Hembroff-Schleicher married twice and worked first for the RCAF, then in the civil service — the phone call resulted in a lifelong friendship. The pair kept in touch and took a number of productive sketching trips.

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During Carr's life, and following her death, Hembroff-Schleicher helped to promote the senior artist's work. With the help of Hembroff-Schleicher's second husband, a University of British Columbia professor, she organized several exhibits of Carr's paintings at the University of British Columbia. Hembroff-Schleicher also wrote two books about Carr.

The Life and Art of Edythe Hembroff-Schleicher reveals a person who was not only a close friend of Emily Carr but a creative force in her own right. The photographs help to elucidate her life, while the illustrations show the vivid colours and strength of her art.

— Beverley Tallon

Settling Saskatchewan
by Alan B. Anderson
University of Regina Press, Regina, 2013
495 pp., $39.95 paperback

One of the most compelling things about this book is its cover. It's a picture of a crowd of newly arrived immigrants at a train station in winter, all looking up towards the camera. Their faces, some smiling, some stoic, some framed by old country babushkas, tell countless stories of hardship and hope.

Unfortunately, this is the book's only illustration. The rest is an academic exploration of "ethnic bloc settlement" — group settlement by people sharing the same ethnic background, language, and religion — in Saskatchewan. The writer explains how and why these communities were formed, and what became of them.

Settling Saskatchewan starts with the first European settlers — the British. The Saskatoon Temperance Colony, as its name suggests, was for sober Methodists. Cannington Manor, established in 1882, was for English aristocrats, businessmen, and landowners — cricket, fox hunting, and gala balls were established routines for this small, isolated colony. Members of the Barr Colony arrived wearing their finest clothes but were ill-equipped for sod-busting.

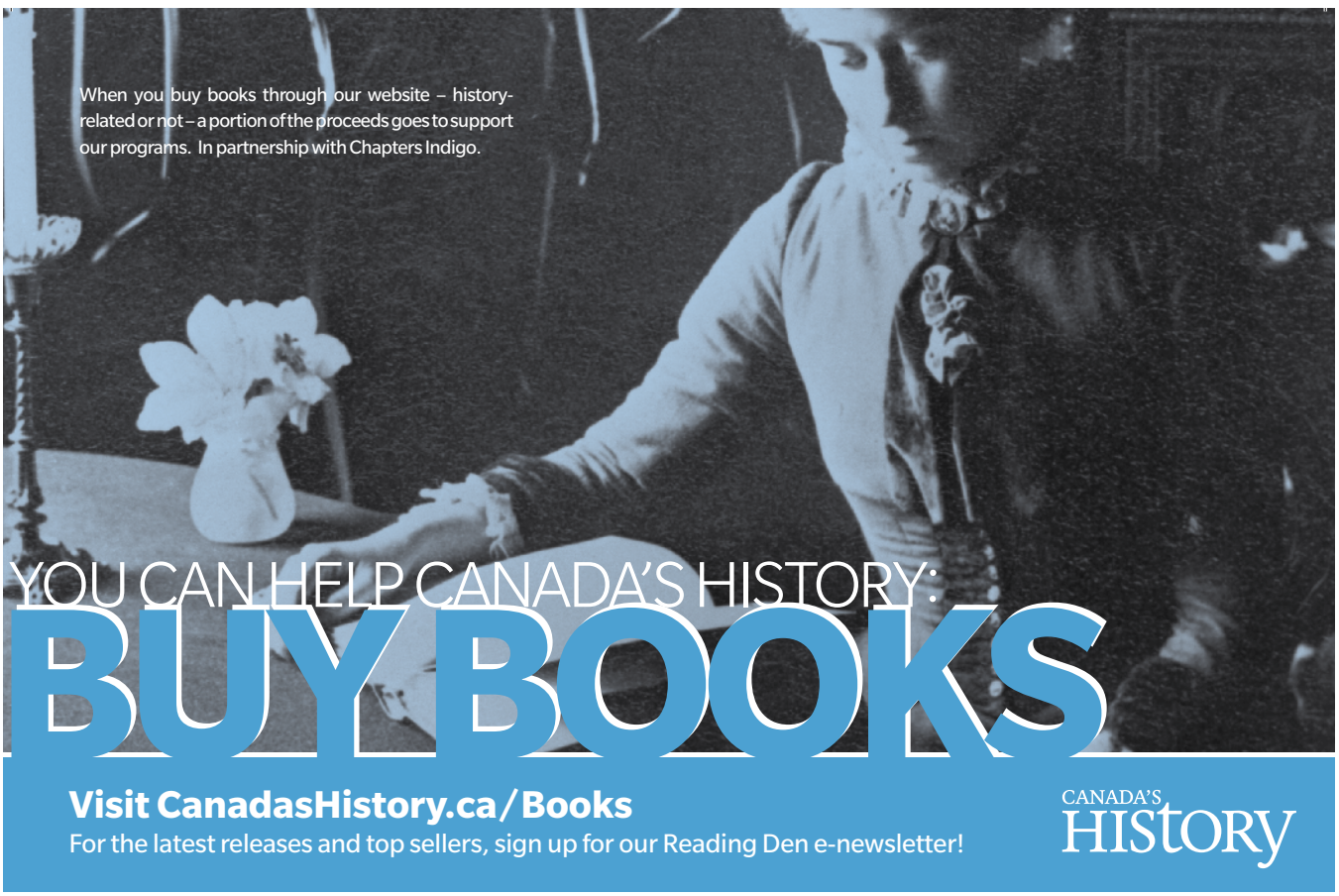
Around the same time came waves of German-speaking newcomers — such as Mennonites and Hutterites — as well as Scandinavians. This was followed by the arrival of Poles, Ukrainians, and other Eastern Europeans. Not surprisingly, they had more problems with acceptance than the English cricket players. Anderson writes that Eastern Europeans were driven like cattle and abused by immigration agents. French-speaking people — Métis or francophone immigrants from Quebec, Europe, or the United States — also established robust communities. This patchwork of different communities made Saskatchewan into the culturally diverse province it is today.

This is a fact-filled book, somewhat encyclopedic in scope, but including enough fascinating tidbits to absorb an interested reader.

— Nelle Oosterom

Newfoundland Drugstores: A History
by John K. Crellin
Flanker Press, St. John's, N.L., 2013
225 pp., illus., $19.95 paperback

Drugstores were important fixtures on any Victorian-era main street. The druggist was the first line of defence against minor ailments that didn't warrant a costly doctor's bill, and the store provided a one-stop shop for remedies, beauty products, and household goods.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In his book *Newfoundland Drugstores: A History*, John K. Crellin allows us to peer into a nineteenth-century drugstore and imagine the sights and smells within the shop. The book is laid out much like the store shelves — filled with research on different products and remedies — and the author plays the role of the trusted druggist, sharing his personal knowledge and expertise with the customer.

Crellin worked closely with the James J. O'Mara Pharmacy Museum in St. John's, and so the book is wonderfully illustrated with photos, advertisements, store logs, and ephemera.

It focuses on the Newfoundland experience, which is always a bit unique. Later chapters look at how Confederation with Canada in 1949 affected an industry that was already changing as a result of commercialization, standardization, and soda machines. However, *Newfoundland Drugstores* is more than a local story and adds to a much broader history of medicine, health, and consumerism.

— **Joanna Dawson**

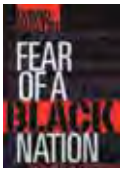
The Patricias: A Century of Service
by David J. Bercuson
Goose Lane Editions, Fredericton, New Brunswick, 2013
144 pp., illus., $35 hardcover

There have been many books that have examined the various regiments of the Canadian Forces. But few have been written with the depth of expertise and wealth of imagery seen in *The Patricias: A Century of Service.*

The author, military historian David Bercuson, is the director of the University of Calgary's Centre for Military and Strategic Studies. He worked closely with the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry Museum and Archives to find many unique images for this coffee-table-style book.

The accompanying text marches readers through one hundred years of history — from the PPCLI's creation during the First World War to its service in the Second World War, the Korean War, the War in Afghanistan, and during peacekeeping missions in Cyprus, Croatia, and beyond. A companion DVD offers additional materials for readers to explore.

— **Mark Reid**



Fear of a Black Nation: Race, Sex, and Security in Sixties Montreal
by David Austin
Between the Lines, Toronto, 2013
255 pp., illus., $34.95 paperback

The fact that French *and* British settlers colonized Quebec is part of what makes it an interesting location for the discussion of race and social politics — even more so because Montreal was a prominent site for the black power movement in the 1960s.

Author David Austin, a humanities, philosophy, and religion educator at Montreal's John Abbott College, takes readers to the heart of this movement in *Fear of a Black Nation*. In this era of global protests by marginalized groups, Austin recounts how people exercised their right for freedom while navigating colonization, slavery, and dehumanization.

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CANADA'S HISTORY TRAVELS
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Austin focuses on two events that were pivotal to advancing black politics in Montreal and places them within the framework of global race politics during the 1960s. He concentrates on the Congress of Black Writers, a gathering of radical figures during the height of rigorous debate over black culture, politics, and identity, and the Sir George Williams affair, a protest and occupation that caused the university (now Concordia University) to implement regulations and rights for students.

Through interviews and archival research, Austin builds a historic narrative that's a reflection of how race, gender, and security shape our daily lives today.

— **Danelle Cloutier**

Along the Shore: Rediscovering Toronto's Waterfront Heritage
by M. Jane Fairburn
ECW Press, Toronto, 2013
440 pp., illus., $21.95 paperback

Toronto area residents and visitors who are curious about the history of some of the city's outstanding waterfront features will like M. Jane Fairburn's *Along the Shore*. The book offers a trove of historical information about four areas of this urban metropolis that have retained their natural beauty, including the Scarborough Shore, the Beach, the Island, and the Lakeshore.

Outsiders might think of Toronto as Hogtown (a name that goes back to its nineteenth-century role as a pork-processing centre), but artists, writers, and anyone with a love for nature have always appreciated the city's proximity to the vastness of Lake Ontario. Fairburn's own epiphany came when, while alone and waiting for help after falling and injuring herself at the Scarborough Bluffs, she discovered on the edge of Canada's most densely populated city a "wilderness that remained raw and uncivilized."

Her book looks at each area from a historical perspective, moving from the ice ages, to pre-contact times when various indigenous peoples lived or passed through, to early settlement by Europeans, to the industrial era when the city's lakefront functioned as a getaway and a place for picnics, dance halls, and hunting clubs. After that came the pressure of modern development, followed by destruction and loss, and finally efforts at renewal.

Along the Shore is richly illustrated with beautiful photos, watercolours, and some historical maps. What I would have liked is a contemporary map that clearly locates the areas being described. Frustrated, I had to look them up on Google. The book is otherwise well done. — **Nelle Oosterom**

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COMING UP IN CANADA'S HISTORY

I Witness

From surviving a 1663 earthquake, to hosting a logging bee, to shooting rapids in a voyageur canoe, first-hand accounts from the front lines of history. *by Mark Reid*

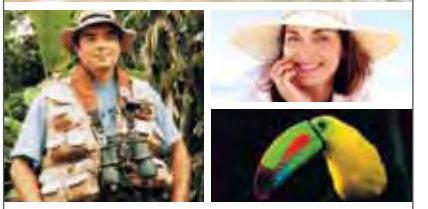
The Munsinger Affair

Any notion that Canadian politics were clean and above reproach was put to rest by the tale of Gerda Munsinger. We take a fresh look at Canada's first political sex scandal. *by Allan Levine*

The Carnage of Lundy's Lane

Many Canadians know Lundy's Lane as a busy tourist strip in Niagara Falls, Ontario. But two hundred years ago it was the site of one of the bloodiest battles ever fought on Canadian soil. *by Donald Graves*

Manuel Antonio Park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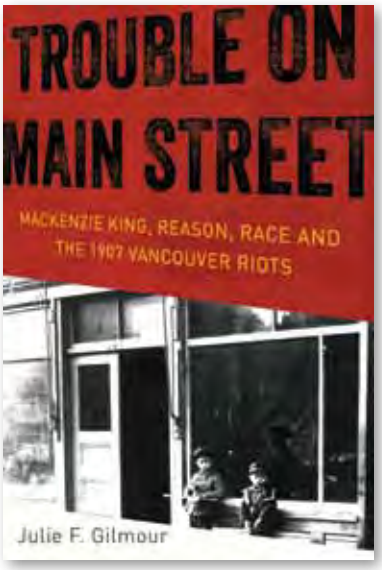

A pivotal evening

British Columbians who were sensitive to Asian immigration had become increasingly fearful over the summer of 1907. More Japanese immigrants were coming to B.C., and rumours smouldered of massive labour contracts for immigrants with the projected Grand Trunk Pacific Railway.

Like citizens of Seattle and San Francisco, residents of Vancouver had established an Asiatic Exclusion League aimed at Japanese, Chinese, and South Asian immigrants in order to protect "White Canada." The league had widespread support, and so a parade during the Labour Day weekend was scheduled. The result was a violent riot that drew the world's attention to Vancouver, to Canadian immigration policy, and to Britain's 1902 alliance with the Japanese.

In Trouble on Main Street: Mackenzie King, Reason, Race, and the 1907 Vancouver Riots, *historian Julie F. Gilmour traces the impact of these events on the life and work of future Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King and on Canada's relationships with Britain, the United States, China, Japan, and India. King's involvement with the commissions set up to evaluate riot damages led to his interest in opium suppression and immigration control and clarified his own sense of Canada's role in the Empire.*

The Riots Begin

by Julie F. Gilmour

In 1907 Vancouver was a city of untapped potential — a city on the rise. The Klondike Gold Rush had brought people and business opportunities and, together with the wheat boom, contributed to growing demand for both housing and the local forest industry's products. New construction downtown and in the new bedroom communities transformed the city of wooden shopfronts and unpaved streets into a bricks-and-mortar outpost of the British Empire. However, those who wished it would become the centre of British identity on the west coast saw danger in the city's habit of cozying up a bit too closely to Washington State or in becoming a Pacific city with real and abiding ties to China and Japan.

These ties were not merely economic or geographic. A significant percentage of the people arriving in Vancouver were originally from China, Japan, and, increasingly, India. …

On the one hand, Vancouver was now a critical point on a long line of communication connecting London to the length of the Dominion and then by steamship to Britain's Pacific interests in Hong Kong, Singapore, and India. On the other, the fact that it was the railway terminus also made Vancouver a logical stop for former employees of the Canadian Pacific Railway and other transients looking for seasonal work. A few thousand of these workers were Chinese. Attempts had been made to exclude Chinese from the city, but a combination of federal intervention in provincial politics and the pull of real and imagined economic opportunities encouraged Chinese workers to come to Vancouver anyway. Most were single men, and most lived close together in Chinatown.

In the 1890s and 1900s the city's fast growth had put pressure on the existing sewer system, drinking water, electricity, housing stock, and transport. Vancouver was not alone in this problem. Across North America and in Europe reformers sought solutions for the social ills of their cities, which were suffering from overcrowding, poverty, and disease. …

Chinese workers had moved into a neighbourhood of unregulated rooming houses and shacks in a poorly serviced, often squalid part of the city that already had a reputation for immorality and disease because of the large number of poor white working men who had previously called it home. Even when city officials had made attempts to clean up the streets, lingering fears of difference and prejudices against Chinese immigrants contributed to a lasting impression that Chinatown was irredeemably filthy, unhealthy, and morally suspect.

In response to the perceived crisis on the west coast, some people organized themselves into groups such as the Asiatic Exclusion League. They met and organized protests against what seemed to them to be policies that encouraged waves of unassimilable "oriental" immigrants to settle in Chinatowns up and down the Pacific coast.

When the Japanese began to arrive in significant numbers after 1890, they were seen as a tidy, civilized community and yet still very much outside of "Canadian" society and even a threat to mainstream British Vancouver because of their perceived inability to assimilate and their talent for competing economically. … "Little Tokyo" arose adjacent to Chinatown and just down the street from City Hall, which in 1907 was located at the corner of Westminster Avenue (today's Main Street) and Hastings. …

The Japanese government was aware that tensions on the west coast were rising, and a special envoy, Kikujiro Ishii, was sent to Canada. … A march had been planned to coincide with Ishii's visit to Seattle, and there is evidence that, when he left for Vancouver, the protest march was reorganized to follow him there.

A number of speakers from the American-based anti-Asian groups travelled north to attend an organized labour parade and demonstration in Vancouver. They included A.E. Fowler, the secretary of the Anti-Japanese and Corean League of Seattle. A well-known and enthusiastic agitator against Asian immigration in the United States, Fowler was considered the "brains" of the organization, and his supporters felt he would make great strides in the movement to achieve Japanese exclusion. He was scheduled to give a rousing talk at City Hall on Saturday night, and he undoubtedly played a role in the eruption of violence that followed.

Vancouver was plenty agitated to begin

with on the hot evening of September 7. Unemployment was high, and the economy was struggling. Workers and politicians were looking for someone to blame, and "cheap oriental labour" had become a regular target. There was, therefore, a certain amount of irritation with Ottawa, distrust of Tokyo, and fear for the future simmering among the people gathered at the Cambie Street grounds at seven o'clock to march to City Hall for an evening of speeches and protest. Nevertheless, the crowd was festive and enjoying the holiday atmosphere.

There is no question that this event was an exclusionist event from the beginning, although no one seemed to have planned for an outbreak of violence. …

The parade route passed along some of the main streets in the heart of Vancouver: Georgia, Granville, Hastings, ending at Westminster Avenue (Main Street) and City Hall. … By nine o'clock, a huge crowd was gathering on Hastings. They had arrived following the parade marshal, Major E. Brown, who led the formal procession of cars, workers, banners supporting the protection of "a White Canada," and bands playing "Rule Britannia" and "The Maple Leaf Forever." … The crowd was starting to get excited as it burned the lieutenant-governor of British Columbia, James Dunsmuir, in effigy. …

Inside City Hall, a standing-room-only crowd listened intently to the invited speakers, who generally advocated moderate political action but did so within the racist framework so common in British, American, and Canadian culture at the time. Indeed, the racial hierarchy that placed Britons and other Anglo-Saxon whites at the top of a continuum of racialized categories was so prevalent that it had taken on the impression of being natural, scientific, and even logical across all of the white-settler colonies located in the British Empire and in the United States.

Asian immigrants were therefore much less desirable than white settlers and had been formally recognized as less than citizens by the B.C. government when their right to vote was taken away. Politicians had been able to defame the Chinese, Japanese, and Indian communities with impunity. There was therefore nothing new in the speeches at City Hall. The crowd had heard these arguments against Asian immigration before, but they were energized by the scope of the resolutions that called on the government to completely exclude Asian immigrants and demanded that the national governments in Washington and Ottawa finally take action to protect the communities of white citizens on the Pacific coast.

Meanwhile, thousands of supporters had packed themselves into the narrow side streets around City Hall. A bonfire added a carnival-like atmosphere to the event.

We do not know the content of Fowler's speech precisely, but several sources suggest that he may have used tales of his own recent experience across the border, in Bellingham, Washington, to incite the mob to the violence that immediately followed. The British Foreign Office was certainly convinced of the role of American "interference" in Canadian anti-Asian activities. A Foreign Office report even named Fowler as the individual "who proposed a march through the Chinese and Japanese quarters" and "the same person who led the attacks on the Hindoos at Bellingham." The report further claimed that Fowler instigated the mob violence directly, avowing that "it was some boys directed by Fowler who threw the first stones."

When he had finished his official speech indoors, Fowler addressed the overflow crowd on the street. He reminded them that only days earlier the residents of Bellingham had taken it upon themselves to run a number of Sikh workers (or "Hindoos," as he called them) out of town. Whatever the immediate cause may have been, or the particular role of individuals from the United States, the crowd shed its previously festive mood and began to march along Dupont Street into Chinatown, which was unfortunately only a block away.

One correspondent described the moment after the mood turned: "the crowd was wrecking all that was movable and breakable in Chinatown." While Chinese shopkeepers and their families hid in the backrooms of their businesses, white men and boys threw stones and bricks through the storefront windows until every pane of glass in the area was shattered. … Sometime around ten o'clock there was a shift in direction and the mob began to move northward toward Westminster and Powell, into the Japanese neighbourhood just north of City Hall.

From Trouble on Main Street: Mackenzie King, Reason, Race, and the 1907 Vancouver Riots *by Julie F. Gilmour. Copyright Julie F. Gilmour, 2014. Reprinted with permission of Allen Lane Canada.*

THE WEATHER ON THE FIRST WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 1907 WAS HOT AND TEMPERS WERE SHORT...

The residents of Vancouver had established a bipartisan Asiatic Exclusion League aimed at Japanese, Chinese, and South Asian immigrants in order to protect "White Canada." The league had widespread support, and so a parade was planned for September 7.

THE RESULT WAS A VIOLENT RIOT THAT DREW THE WORLD'S ATTENTION TO VANCOUVER, TO CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY, AND TO BRITAIN'S 1902 ALLIANCE WITH THE JAPANESE.

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ISTOCK

Fighting for the record

Canadian archivists seek strategies for the digital world.
by Deborah Morrison

A rare gathering of Canadian archivists was held in January of this year at the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto. An estimated seventy people were gathered on-site, but surprisingly another four hundred joined in through thirty regional sites linked via the Internet. Anyone who worried that the conference — organized by former Librarian and Archivist of Canada Ian Wilson — would be a dry conversation was instead pleasantly surprised.

Many readers will be aware of the challenges facing the archival community (or the "information industry," as it now calls itself) due to cutbacks at Library and Archives Canada, the closing of interlibrary loan services, and increasing demands to provide more access through digitization, to name but a few challenges. Although these problems are real, the archivists had not gathered to dwell on them. Rather, the presentations and discussions were focused on the future of their profession and how best to serve the needs of Canadians in this rapidly changing technological universe.

It was generally agreed that the greater priority was not digitizing the records we already have but, rather, developing a strategy for collecting and storing the massive amount of new records being created today.

Ontario Information and Privacy Commissioner Ann Cavoukian was one of seventeen *"agents provocateurs"* who delivered short presentations on the issues a new national archival strategy needs to address. She spoke about the challenges of securing records related to key decisions of government — as evidenced by the highly publicized case of the Ontario premier's office destroying all emails pertinent to gas plant closures at Oakville and Mississauga. It brought into stark relief the need to have enforceable policies and procedures in place if we are to have any documented record of public decision-making for tomorrow's historians to analyze.

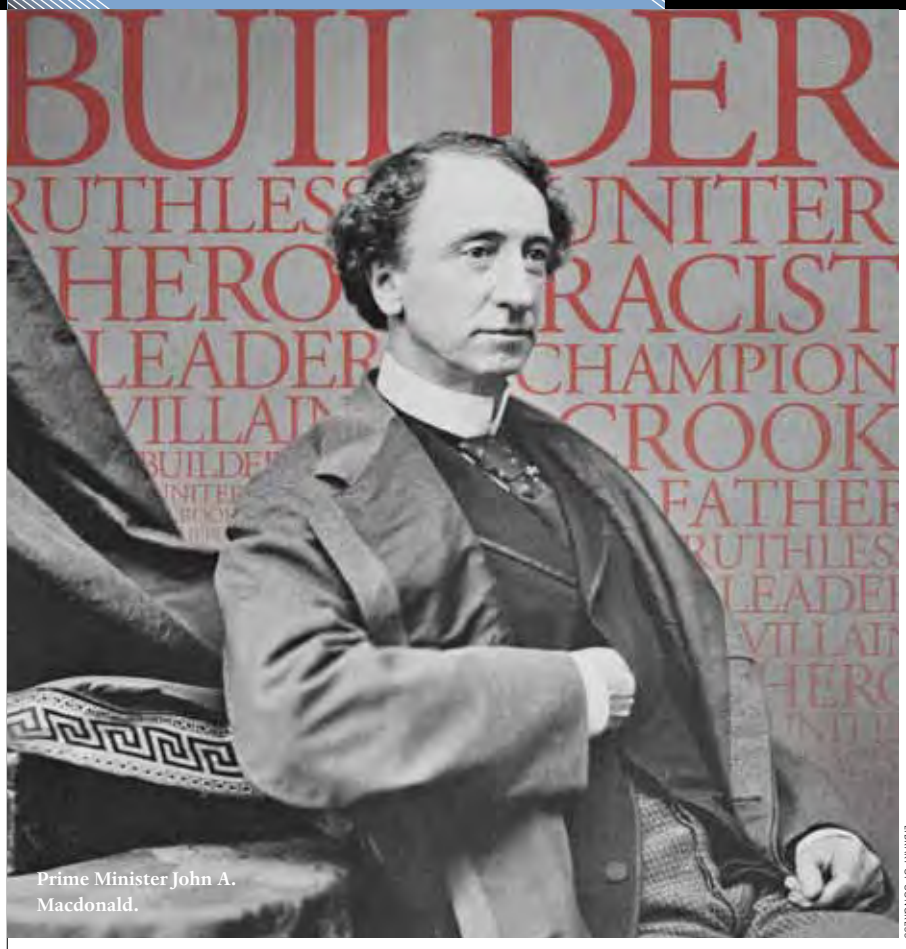
But the greatest threat to our historical record isn't coming from these types of allegedly deliberate efforts to erase the past. Rather, it is coming from a complete values shift for those who have grown up in a world where information is "born digital," as opposed to the rest of us who still try to apply the principles of paper and file folders to the digital age. The University of British Columbia's Luciana Duranti and Corinne Rogers define the tipping point as occurring with anyone born after 1981. According to them, this generation "considers communication more important than memory, and the material it generates is supposed to have an immediate impact and be consumed instantaneously. Thus, there is no expectation of preservation, only a desire to generate output throughout each and every event…." Most of today's records are ephemeral, and the longer it takes to create new processes for collecting and permanently storing them the greater the amount that will be lost forever.

Finding a solution means rethinking a lot of the things we have come to trust about archival records. Issues of provenance, authorship, copyright, and privacy must be redefined for a world where documents are routinely shared and edited. A generation of leaders — both in business and in the not-for-profit sector — need to invest in training and record-keeping systems to ensure that electronic documents endure. Everyday Canadians need to be aware of the importance of maintaining their own collections of photographs, blogs, and emails so that future generations can benefit from what these say about the lives we've lived. These efforts need to be coordinated nationally so that, in a world of diminishing resources, this is done as quickly and efficiently as possible. And finally — if government cannot be persuaded to support this effort — trustworthy private-sector partners need to be found to help.

Over the past year or so, the archival community has been unfairly stigmatized, largely because of what's been happening at Library and Archives Canada. Coming together, so that archivists can see beyond those issues and restore confidence in their own capacities, was an important first step. Far from being passive observers of the modern age, archivists in Canada have demonstrated an impressive breadth of foresight and ingenuity. However, the community will need support to develop its strategies and solutions, and archivists need to know that Canadians value and understand the importance of this enterprise. Anyone looking to follow the discussion should visit Archivists.Ca.

Deborah Morrison is the President and CEO of Canada's History.

CHRISTOPHER MOORE



Prime Minister John A. Macdonald.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Pedestals and politicians

History is a complicated, messy business. That's why there's room for both seriousness and fun in upcoming anniversary commemorations.

One night last January, the Great Hall of the University of Toronto's Hart House was packed to capacity for John A. Macdonald's 199th birthday. The crowd was loud and lively — politicians and public figures along with history types. Many wore Victorian costumes. Quite a few dressed as the great man himself. The mood was boisterous, and the speeches short and funny. A good time was had. If the 199th birthday is this big, people said to each other, imagine what the next year's will be like!

Monday morning's newspaper brought a sizzling riposte. Avvy Yao-Yao Go, the Toronto lawyer, social activist, and executive of the Chinese Canadian National Council, had some questions for the partygoers.

What, she wanted to know, about the racist policies Macdonald put in place? The head tax imposed on Chinese immigrants in 1885? The calculated neglect of starving First Nations on the Prairies? The declaration that "the Chinaman has no British instincts and therefore ought to have no vote"? All this was being whitewashed, Go charged. It was "historical revisionism."

It all led to a blunt challenge. "Given the stark human rights record under his belt, why should Canadians celebrate Macdonald's birthday?" It's a fair question. Avvy Go's questions are ones we should be prepared to embrace. In fact, it's when we consider such questions that history really takes shape.

Macdonald's government had not at first been eager to stem Chinese immigration. Macdonald sent his minister Adolphe Chapleau to the West Coast, and Chapleau reported that the Chinese made excellent immigrants. There was little reason to deny them entry. But Macdonald read the political winds. There were more votes in an anti-immigrant policy than a pro-immigrant policy. He imposed the head tax and secured the loyalty of his West Coast MPs, one deal amid thousands that helped shore up his hold on power.

To me, this story of Macdonald weighing principle against power takes him off his pedestal. Indeed, it shifts the weight of the decision from Macdonald to all Canadians. Anti-Chinese policies were very popular in 1885. Should we blame an elected politician for doing what the electorate demanded? Surely, it still happens all the time.

Macdonald was a profoundly important figure at a formative moment in Canadian history. We should be able to acknowledge that Macdonald was and is important because he was a shrewd and ruthless politician and did not let scruples get in the way of advancing his goals.

"If you are doing big, hard things … there's going to be some aspects of it that aren't clean and neat," someone recently said. That was not a historian excusing Macdonald. It was American President Barack Obama assessing his own record.

A bicentennial celebration that could not raise such issues about Macdonald would hardly be a party worth throwing. But refusing to note the bicentennial of his birth would be no triumph, either. It would be a kind of historical suicide, a wilful forgetting.

In the past two years, the bicentennial of the War of 1812 provoked vigorous debate about the meaning of war today. And, surely, that was one of the best things about the event. If Macdonald's birthday could stimulate clear-eyed discussion about greatness, morality, and political leadership in Canadians then and now, it would be an example of how precious history can be.

Given the stark human rights record under his belt, why should Canadians celebrate John A. Macdonald's birthday? It's a fair question — one we should be prepared to embrace.

Canadian museums and historic sites deal with choices like these all the time. If we visit Batoche, Saskatchewan, Saint-Marie-among-the-Hurons, Ontario, Grand-Pré, Nova Scotia, or Skedans on Haida Gwaii, British Columbia, we are in the presence of winners and losers and of divided loyalties. Even if we choose to stand with the victims of history, we often have to admit that it was the victors who shaped the country we live in.

Historic site and museum professionals have a phrase for how to deal with these ambiguities. About the great events of the past, they often say, "commemoration, not celebration."

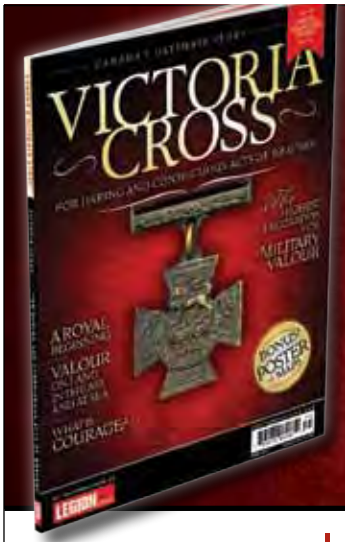
Public history, official history, does not have to pick winners and pump up triumphs for us. Better for it simply to help us to notice and to ponder the great historical doings that happened in some time and place. Often, the lessons are best left to be debated, not laid down as triumphal answers.

This year the world marks the hundredth anniversary of the start of the First World War. Surely here is one anniversary where commemoration, not celebration, is the decent and appropriate response. This year, let's salute the difficult choices faced by Canadians on the home front and on the battlefield. Let's honour skill and bravery and sacrifice. Let's consider how Canada's response shaped our standing as a nation among nations.

But celebrate? Every attempt at triumphal celebration of the First World War must surely wreck upon the more than sixty-six thousand dead, on all the loss and pain and grief. The best idea I heard for how to commemorate that anniversary was a proposal to plant a million poppies, nothing more.

The War of 1812, the First World War, the John A. bicentennial. Let's not hide from any of them. Let's dive in and explore, even have a little fun in some of these commemorations. Dress up as Sir John A. or Lady Agnes. Re-enact a military parade. I think that's okay, too.

Christopher Moore comments in every issue and blogs about history at ChristopherMoore.ca.



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Trudeaumania

Trudeaumania was a word used to describe the excitement and celebrity that surrounded Pierre Trudeau as he ran for the leadership of the federal Liberal Party in 1968 and subsequently became prime minister. Trudeaumania was fuelled by Trudeau's charisma and by the youthful exuberance of his supporters. As this photo illustrates, Trudeaumania had a far-reaching impact on Canadians, including when it came to fashion trends.

Bride Valerie Black (née Ruller) was particularly enamoured by the styles displayed at the wedding of Pierre and Margaret Trudeau in 1971. In this photo, taken on October 23, 1973, twenty-year-old Black stands in front of her parents' house in Kastnerville, Ontario, surrounded by her bridal party on her wedding day. The hooded bridesmaid dresses were modelled after the dress worn in Margaret Trudeau's bridal party. Similar to Trudeau, who sewed her own wedding dress, Black and her sisters made these garments themselves. The process took almost four months to complete.

A quintessential flower child, Trudeau wore daisies in her hair (note the daisy bouquets in this wedding party). Trudeau also wore a large medallion around her neck. This bride and her bridesmaids had similar pieces of jewellery. The bridal party includes (from left to right) Black's two sisters, Joan and Shirley, her husband's sisters, Helen and Barbara, and Black's niece Kim.

Submitted by Melissa Black of Poplar Hill, Ontario. Melissa is the daughter of Valerie Black. Text by Maria Cristina Laureano.

Do you have a photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If you would like to submit it for possible publication, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your submission to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Include a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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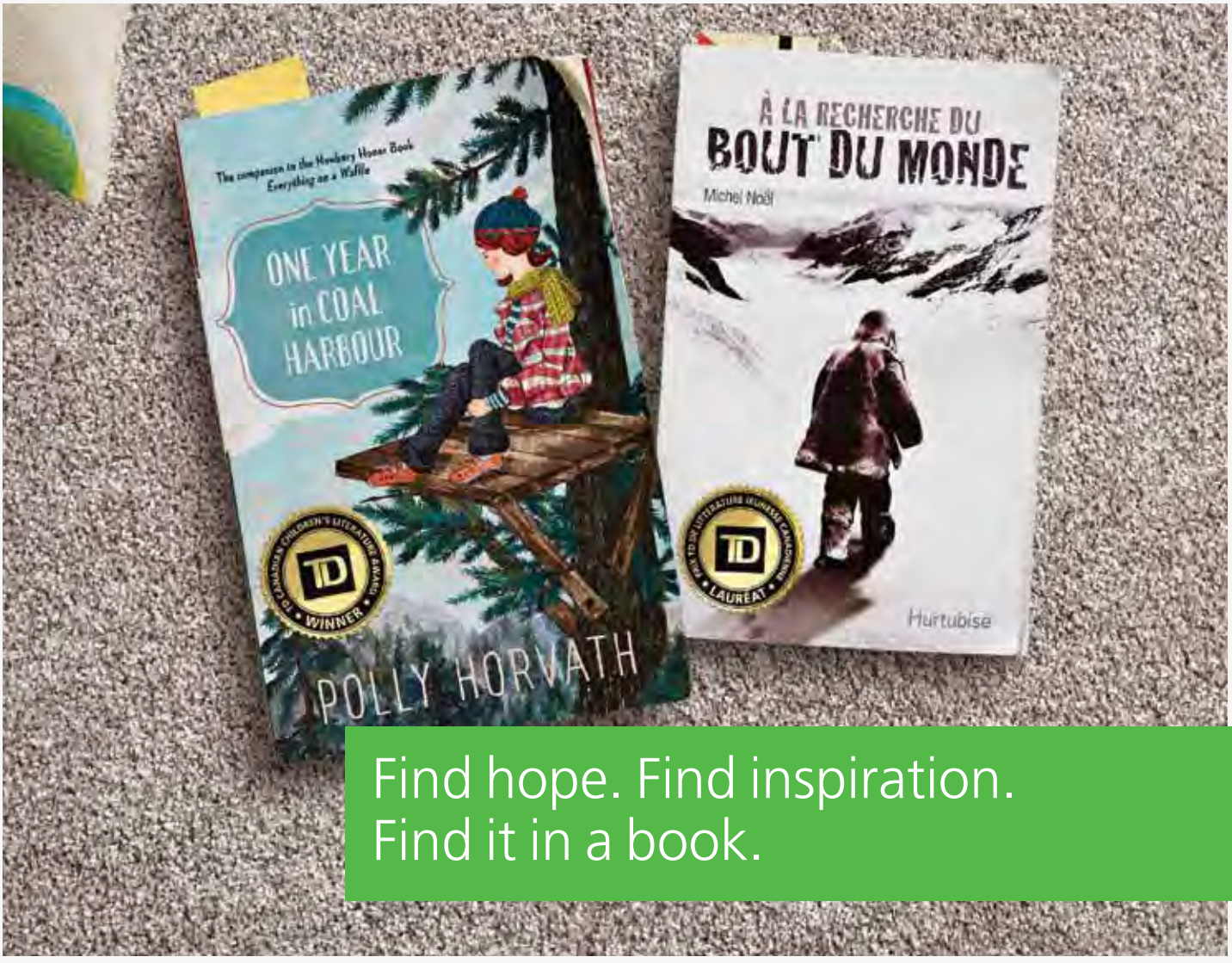

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